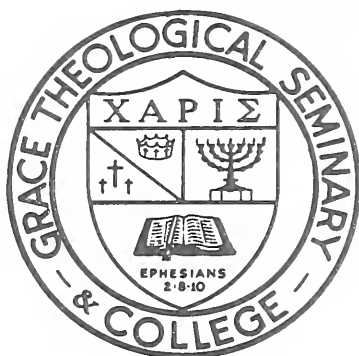


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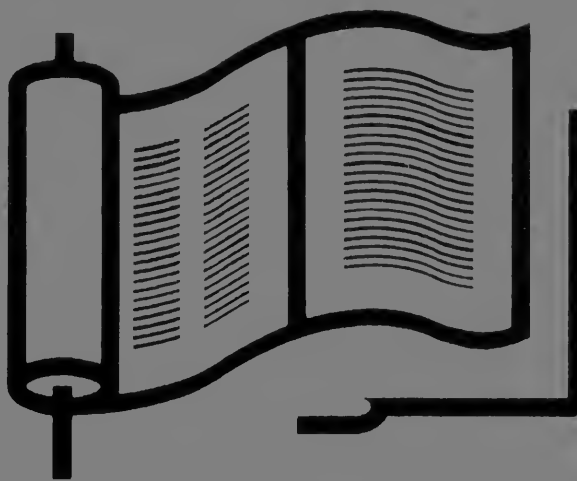
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A FRESH LOOK AT 1 CORINTHIANS 15:34: AN APPEAL FOR EVANGELISM OR A CALL TO PURITY?

HOMER A. KENT, JR.

The church at Corinth was tolerating serious doctrinal aberrations which were causing moral and spiritual difficulties in the congregation. Paul's challenge: "Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God. I speak this to your shame," was a call to sober thinking. It urged a return to holy conduct, and a recognition that the presence of wrong doctrine was a shameful condition which must be rectified.

ONE of the periodic discussions which has characterized the church focuses upon the inadequacies that we perceive about ourselves. Why aren't we growing? Why do we have conflicts? Why can't our programs be as exciting and effective as they used to be? Before long we concentrate so heavily upon the problems that we forget our main business. In our very concern to find reasons for our lack of growth, our negativism makes us even more unattractive to the world we want to reach.

Not only that, but focusing on our problems can so easily make us lose perspective. "All is lost." "Things have never been this bad before." "It's a different world now. There are no biblical precedents or helps for us. We need a new program, a new formula, new approaches, new leaders." These are the things we tell ourselves.

But a careful study of the Bible makes it sound strangely familiar. Consider the congregation of the Christians at Corinth. Here was a church that was founded on pure doctrine by an apostle. It counted some very able people in its membership. Priscilla and Aquila had been there from the beginning of the work. There was Crispus, a man of recognized integrity and leadership so that he had been made ruler of the Jewish synagogue in the city. His conversion to Christ and the Christian faith led him and his household into the

new church at Corinth. The same thing seems to have happened with Sosthenes, the successor to Crispus at the synagogue. Then there was Gaius, whose gracious hospitality at Corinth made Paul's ministry more pleasant (Rom 16:23). Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus were likewise stalwart Christians with roots at Corinth.

The church at Corinth had also known some great Bible teachers. Paul and Silas and Apollos had extended ministries there. Timothy and Titus were no strangers to that congregation. Furthermore, this church had witnessed some remarkable conversions and transformed lives. Some of their members had once been idolaters, adulterers, homosexuals, thieves, drunkards, and swindlers before they had been transformed by the saving work of Jesus Christ (1 Cor 6:9–11).

The church was located in a strategic spot—a commercial and transportation center, bustling with human activity, and desperately in need of moral and spiritual direction.

In spite of these advantages, the health of the church at Corinth was far from perfect. The congregation had conflicts and divisions which threatened its growth and effectiveness. Apollos, Peter, and Paul had their partisans, and then of course, there were the “super spiritual” who claimed no toleration for anyone except Christ alone.

They began to look inward instead of at the whole body of Christ. Because they were more concerned about their own parochial interests, Paul had great difficulty in getting them to cooperate with other gentile churches in raising a substantial collection for their Jewish Christian brethren in Judea.

Furthermore, they started questioning their leadership. Such questions as these must have arisen: “Why aren't our local leaders as eloquent as Apollos, or as dynamic as Peter, or as logical as Paul?” Dissatisfaction with their leaders led to disregard for the instruction they had been given by those leaders. They began to compromise their moral and spiritual standards. They were exceedingly tolerant of sin in their midst and were becoming lax in their own spiritual lives.

Even some of the basic doctrines of the Christian faith were being attacked. Prominent among these was the doctrine of physical resurrection. Implications of their wavering commitment were frightening to the apostle, and he devoted a significant portion of his epistle to a ringing call to reaffirm their faith.

All we need to do is change a few names and addresses, and the situation is very contemporary. And if we believe the Bible is our rule for faith and practice, then it surely has something to say to us.

How do you suppose Paul felt about the church at Corinth? Frustrated? Undoubtedly. Irritated? Sometimes. Deeply disappointed? No question about it. But he never gave way to total despair. His attitude was: “We have this treasure in jars of clay to show that this

all-surpassing power is from God and not from us. We are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed; perplexed but not in despair; persecuted, but not abandoned; struck down, but not destroyed" (2 Cor 4:7-9 NIV).

That is the challenge: to maintain a balanced view; to be thanking God for accomplishments; to recognize needs and problems; to deal with failures while staying encouraged.

Paul managed to do it, but it was no easy task. Take a moment to analyze the Corinthian church from Paul's standpoint. Why should he have expected a church to begin and flourish in Corinth? It was a busy commercial center, not much given to contemplation or to the spiritual values of man and his destiny. It was a city with no apparent lack of religion. Today's visitor can inspect the impressive ruins of the temple of Apollo and the sites of other temples and not fail to be awed by the historical references to the temple of Aphrodite which crowned the heights of acrocorinth, just beyond the city. To the superficial observer, there would have seemed to be no need for another faith.

Yet when one searches deeper, there were some tremendous reasons, and Paul found them. The largely transient population left a spiritual void that cried out to be filled. Pagan religion, prevalent though it was, was either meaningless or corrupting. Immorality was rampant. Materialism was paramount. In such a city, Paul preached the gospel of the grace of God as revealed in Jesus Christ, and a church was founded.

But that church was now in trouble. When Paul wrote the 15th chapter of 1 Corinthians, he was grappling with their confusion over the great truth of resurrection. Some were denying that Christians could look forward to a literal resurrection (v 12). Some were actually denying the reality of any kind of resurrection, thus implying that Christ himself had not been raised (v 13). Some apparently rejected the whole idea because they could not explain what sort of body a resurrected person would have (v 35). Greek philosophy and contemporary culture had a stranglehold on their thinking.

The implications of that doctrinal confusion were frightening. It was not a matter of theological hair-splitting. Rather, it was a wavering before one of the foundational truths of the Christian faith. To question the very principle of resurrection was to deny the validity of Christ's resurrection (v 13). Their faith would be worthless, a dream without substance (vv 14,17). Paul's preaching would be based upon falsehood (v 15). Christians who had died would have perished forever (v 18). There would be no hope beyond the present life (v 19). Earthly and temporal pleasures would be man's only satisfaction (v 32).

Against the backdrop of this potentially disastrous situation, Paul issued the ringing challenge: "Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame" (1 Cor 15:34). The advice he gave is just as momentous today. If Christians are to fulfill their role in the light of the commission which the Lord Jesus Christ gave, these words of Paul can provide insight that may prove to be crucial if success is to follow.

THE MINDSET THAT IS REQUIRED

Meaning of the Term

In the stirring words of the KJV, Paul's challenge is rendered: "Awake to righteousness." NASB treats the verb as "become sober-minded." NIV translates it: "Come back to your senses." This verb used by Paul occurs nowhere else in the NT. However, it belongs to a word group that is represented nine other times. The word is actually used in two ways. Its basic meaning is to become sober, whether physically from a condition of drunkenness, or metaphorically from intoxication with one's own thoughts. Its other meaning is to awake out of sleep.

Clearly, in the Corinthian letter, the meaning in view is a soberness of mind, the opposite of mental fuzziness. The readers are urged to be on guard against mental or spiritual intoxication from their own thoughts about life and death—thoughts which are not God's thoughts. It is probably significant that every other occurrence of the cognate verb in the NT is used in a context where the reader is being urged to think rightly about the coming of Christ, the resurrection, or the life to come. When Paul wrote to the Thessalonians about Christ's return, he said, "Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch, and *be sober*" (1 Thes 5:6). "Let us who are of the day, *be sober*, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation" (1 Thes 5:8). As he warned Timothy in the light of Christ's coming kingdom, he said, "But *watch* thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist" (2 Tim 4:5). Peter used the same word: "wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, *be sober*, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet 1:13). He also said, "But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore *sober*, and watch unto prayer" (1 Pet 4:7). And after reminding his readers that Christ, the Chief Shepherd, will appear, he urged them to "*be sober*, be vigilant because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about" (1 Pet 5:8).

Thus Paul's point in this letter to the Corinthians is that believers must be thinking clearly, not fuzzily, not with confusion, or befuddle-

ment, or intoxication. Their minds must be alert, functioning properly, and focused on the crucial issues.

Implications in the Context

What did this command imply to those original readers? The theme of this part of the epistle is clear. Paul was discussing the resurrection. The readers were being told to be sober-minded in contrast to wrong thinking in denying the resurrection. To develop merely an emotional attachment or loyalty to some outstanding speaker, without thinking clearly through his teaching, was potentially disastrous. They were being called to think straight. The reality of the believer's resurrection must be clearly understood, not just as part of a recited creed, but as part of their mental process. If so, it would condition whatever they did.

Furthermore, it is implied that they were already somewhat intoxicated in their minds. They were commanded to "sober up." Too much wrong teaching had already clouded their minds. They had not gone so far as to apply logically all the ramifications that denial of resurrection involved, but Paul told them they were on the way, and the end would be disaster.

It is also clear that the Corinthian readers needed to guard themselves against moral contagion from those deniers of the literal fulfillment of the scriptural promise of resurrection. If they continued to associate with those who denied resurrection, the very underpinnings of morality would be cut away. The "bad company" of those teachers of error would "corrupt good morals" (v 33). It would not take long until the weakening of their future blessed hope would bring the converse emphasis upon the present sensual and material life, and the inevitable philosophy would take over, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (v 32).

The Truth for the Church

What is the truth from this passage for the church today? Surely it is clear that unrighteous living is the product of improper thinking, and Scripture calls it spiritual drunkenness. It is an aberration. It is contrary to that renewing of the mind which regeneration has secured for us. It means that fuzziness, befuddlement, or downright insensitivity has taken the place of the Spirit-filled intelligence which God has made possible for his children.

In addition, the passage indicates that spiritual sobriety is not just optional; it is commanded. This statement leaves no room for the notion that Christians are given the option of how doctrinally correct and how morally pure they wish to be. The only choice is to obey

God's word or disobey it. If Christ is one's Lord and Master, then the response to follow his instruction was settled long ago.

Furthermore, the passage is clear that one's mindset is the key to the matter. "Become sober-minded" is the command. It is easy to become mentally befuddled. All too often Christians have been led astray by that curious and non-scriptural dichotomy of "head versus heart" and have drawn the strange conclusion that one can trust his "heart" but not his "head." The Bible most often uses those terms interchangeably: "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he" (Prov 23:7). When believers fail to focus their *thinking* on the teaching of the Word of God, they are in danger of mental and spiritual drunkenness, useless to themselves, and a disgrace to the cause of Christ.

Finally, the truth should be obvious that contamination from others within and outside the church continues to blunt the impact that Christians should be making on their world. Wrong thinking leads to wrong doing, and this in turn blurs our witness, destroys our integrity, and makes Christ's transforming power invisible to an unbelieving world.

The Manner of Compliance

One additional matter in this opening clause calls for special comment. The common rendering "awake unto righteousness" states the goal or content of this spiritual awakening. In fact, however, this is not the most accurate way of translating these words. Paul actually used an adverb which means "rightly, justly, properly." He was not naming the object of their sober thinking, but the manner in which they were to carry it out. It is the same usage as is found in Luke 23:41, where one of the crucified thieves commented on the appropriateness of their punishment and used the identical word: "and we indeed justly." He meant that is was the proper sentence for their crimes. Thus the NASB translates our verse: "become sober-minded *as you ought*." The NIV renders similarly: "Come back to your senses *as you ought*."

In the context, therefore, the sense is that there was a proper mindset which they ought to have regarding the resurrection. There was a standard whereby their thinking could be measured, and they were as erratic as drunkards if they failed to measure up. That standard was the truth of apostolic teaching and the whole context of biblical revelation. They had heard the gospel of a risen Christ and of regeneration which they could acquire. At one time in their lives the Holy Spirit had opened their eyes to enable them to grasp the truth of the new birth, eternal life, and resurrection. There was really no excuse for their present confusion except their own imbibing of contradictory teaching. That some of them had drunk too deeply of

doubtful doctrine was becoming painfully obvious to others. They needed to return to the standard of the Word of God and its revelation to them. No longer must they let themselves be captivated by the appeal of a spellbinder. As residents of Corinth, they had heard many a Greek orator in the theater or the marketplace, and should have known full well that mere eloquence or charisma was no guarantee of truth. They must not be so willing to adopt the latest fad or be influenced by contemporary morality. "Sober-minded as you ought" meant they were obligated to think in harmony with that apostolic teaching which they had received.

People don't like the word "ought" very much. They didn't like it in first-century Corinth. Neither do we like it in twentieth-century America. Even Christians struggle with the concept. We love the Scriptures which tell us that Christ has set us free; that we are not under a yoke of bondage; that we are not under law but grace. When it is suggested that there are modes of conduct that Christians are obligated to follow, some will protest such ideas as nonsense, or old fashioned, or legalism, and proudly call themselves liberated. How easy it is to forget that the same apostle who said that "Christ has set us free" (Gal 5:1) also commanded us to "fulfill the law of Christ" (Gal 6:2). In the words of our text, we *ought* to be sober-minded. We are obligated by our Christian commitment to have the right mindset toward spiritual truth. It is not just a piece of helpful advice—well-meant, but optional. It is our solemn responsibility. "Become sober-minded as you ought." There is a Christian propriety, and it is based upon the Word of God.

THE HOLINESS THAT IS COMMANDED

There is a second implication in our text. It tells us that there is a holiness that is expected in our lives.

"Stop sinning" is the command. Its close connection with the previous command may suggest the particular sort of sinning the apostle had in mind.

Meaning of the Term

There are various words in the Bible that describe man's violation of the will of God. The one used here is the commonest one in the NT and the one with the broadest meaning. It describes sin as a missing of God's desire for our lives. The parallelism employed in Rom 3:23 helps us understand its meaning: "All have sinned and *come short* of the glory of God." We have missed the goal which men made in the image of God should have been aiming at. We have failed to fulfill God's will. We have fallen short of the expectations of a holy God.

Now this term for sin is the broadest one in the NT and embraces most of the aspects which the other words for sin emphasize. For example, there are NT terms for sin which emphasize transgressing, unrighteousness, and lawlessness. 1 John 3:4, however, says that "everyone who doeth sin (our word in 1 Cor 15:34) doeth also lawlessness (*ἀνομία*), and sin is lawlessness."

The use of the negative with this particular form of the verb tells the readers that they are not to continue engaging in their present practice. Usually it means to stop doing what one is now doing. The simple rendering "sin not" of the common version, is rendered a bit more precisely by the "stop sinning" of the NASB and NIV.

The two verbs in this part of our verse could well be understood like this: "Come to your senses and do not continue to sin." The readers are challenged to think straight and live accordingly.

The Context

This verse has often been used as a general admonition for Christians in almost any circumstance. Surely its application is appropriate to all believers in every situation. Every Christian ought to think clearly and live in holiness.

Paul, however, gave these commands in the midst of a specific discussion. He was talking about a particular doctrinal error at Corinth in which some were denying the resurrection. Failure to believe the teaching which God had sent them through his apostle indicated their cloudy thinking, and was in turn a falling short of what God expected. It was sinning and they needed to get rid of it.

Furthermore, Paul has explained that failure to grasp the truth of resurrection would inevitably lead to a substitution of materialism and self-indulgence for the spiritual values that should be motivating believers. The philosophy of "eat and drink for tomorrow we die" would soon take over. Paul reminds us that life is interwoven. What we think determines what we do. We live the way we do because of the mindset we have. At Corinth the deviant views on the doctrine of resurrection were not just harmless philosophical speculations. They had a direct connection with the purity of their lives. To abandon apostolic teaching was to pursue a course of sin. It was to live in direct defiance of the command of the Word of God.

A Mark of Immaturity

The Bible says that sin in the lives of Christians is one of the marks of spiritual immaturity. Paul had already called the Corinthians "carnal" because they had allowed the superficial, the temporal, and the cultural to dominate them. In the Epistle to the Hebrews,

maturity is explained as the ability to discern good and evil (5:11–14). One's knowledge of the word of righteousness—God's Word—enables the believer to acquire God's standards, so that he can choose the good and shun the evil. And this is no mere option. Spiritual growth *must* take place. If it doesn't there is something terribly wrong. Spiritual immaturity is not just disappointing in the lives of Christians. Paul says it is sin and calls upon us to get rid of it.

THE CHALLENGE THAT MUST BE FACED

The passage concludes with the sober words that carry with them a great challenge to the church. "For some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame." This statement is often applied to the great need of lost mankind for the gospel. The fact that millions of men and women are ignorant of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, some in lands beyond the seas and others in our own communities, is a matter that ought to shame us if we are doing nothing about it. When Paul wrote these words, however, he was not talking about evangelizing pagans, but about correcting wrong doctrine. The point of the statement was not primarily outreach, but purity. He was warning them of the abysmal ignorance of God on the part of those who had infiltrated their church and were upsetting their faith.

Existing Situations in the Church Are Often Less than Ideal

These words serve as a reminder to us that existing situations in the church are not always ideal. Our verse speaks of "some" who are without knowledge of God. Presumably these are the "some" first mentioned in v 12, "some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead." They were not pagan citizens of the city, but certain ones in the church. They had promoted a culturally-conditioned theology which denied literal resurrection. The outcome was that emphasis was transferred from a future life to the present one. "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (v 32). Moral decline had followed. Holiness of life did not seem very important. Separation from sin was ignored. "Bad company corrupts good character" was Paul's concise evaluation (NIV, v 33).

Earlier Paul had said that he didn't expect the Corinthians to have no contact with unbelievers, for that would have required a physical departure from the world (5:10). He did not forbid them from joining pagan friends at dinner (10:27). But to cultivate bad company and take pleasure in it was another matter. The "bad company" in this passage seems to be inside the church. The danger Paul feared was the growth of spiritual contamination from those who were spiritually sick or dead. Tolerating false doctrine was

exposing the rest of the church to the infection of moral and theological disease. On another occasion Paul spoke of false teaching as spreading like gangrene (2 Tim 2:17). Ignorance of God and his word exists not only outside the church. At Corinth, it existed inside as well.

Surely the church of today has reason to heed the counsel of the passage. It is no great surprise to find churches where some lives are not honoring God; where some are joining with those who are more concerned with personal gratification and enjoyment of this present world than they are with spiritual goals and present sacrifice; where some are really without the knowledge of God, his holy character, and his will for his children.

Some Less-Than-Ideal Situations Are Positively Shameful

"I speak this to your shame." At Corinth, it was shameful because it was *contrary to what the church had been taught*. They knew better, and thus they were without excuse. Christ had risen from the dead. He had taught his followers that a day was coming when those who were in the grave would hear his voice and come forth in resurrection (John 5:28-29). To believe or to teach otherwise was a clear repudiation of the truth implicit in the gospel.

Furthermore, the situation at Corinth was shameful because the church was *tolerating this false teaching*. By letting this "bad company" exist in their congregation, they were implying that it didn't matter; that doctrine was less important than more "practical" matters. In so doing, they were virtually joining forces with those who were ignorant of God and his revelation.

In addition, it was shameful because it was *leading the church into impure living*. The Corinthians knew perfectly well the standards expected of a child of God. Their former lives had been recognized as sin. The new life in Christ had been startling in its contrasts. As new converts they had revelled in the fact that their guilt before God had been cleansed and that their sordid lives had been transformed. But now they had allowed a situation to develop in their church in which spiritual values were being subordinated to material and temporal ones.

It is one thing to acknowledge that local churches are less than perfect. It is far more serious when we learn to be at ease with impurity in our midst. Within Christianity today, we can find almost every sin known in the world being tolerated in some congregation. There are congregations consisting of practicing homosexuals. There are churches where adultery is so commonplace that partners exchange mates and all parties continue in good standing in the same

congregation. Surely Paul would term this sort of thing an absence of the knowledge of God and a matter that ought to cause us shame.

Paul's Challenge Was to Grasp the Truth, Decide to Obey It, and Then Put It into Operation

If this challenge was needed at Corinth, and none will deny that it was, it is surely needed today. There is still great ignorance of God, not only in our communities, our nation, and in the regions beyond, but also as at Corinth *in our churches*. I am convinced that there is not nearly as much understanding of biblical truth as the average Christian thinks he has. I have often heard it said that most Christians already know enough doctrine; they just need to put it to work. I would like to counter that notion by insisting that the reason we are not "putting it to work" is because far too many of us don't understand God's truth all that well. When we *really* have the knowledge of God and his program, it will grip our minds and propel us into appropriate living. Those who have really come to "the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 4:6) have no problem deciding to obey it. Our attitude, our mindset is what Paul is appealing to. We can *decide* to do it. We must never allow anything else, no matter how temporarily attractive, to sidetrack us from the emphasis upon the Word of God—his revelation to us, the instrument by which we know God and avoid the problems Paul was warning the church against.

This challenge is just as relevant to us as to Corinth. We too are finding that the people in our churches are not exhibiting much distinction from the world. The continual pressure from our culture, which through the astounding effectiveness of the news and entertainment media has injected its influence into every home, has blurred our distinctiveness. Christians are not easily recognizable any longer by the things they do or don't do. The need is not for arbitrary, legalistic taboos, but for intelligent, meaningful discernment followed by consistent choices of what is right, not only on Sundays, but every day of the week. "Come back to your senses as you ought, and stop sinning" is a challenge every Christian should take to heart.

Finally, this challenge to make up our minds to do the will of God carries with it the need for sensitivity to the condition of others, both inside and outside the church. "Some have not the knowledge of God." There are those in our neighborhoods who live in spiritual darkness and need to be reached by godly Christians whose lives manifest the transforming grace of God. There are those in other cities whose veneer of sophistication in so-called Christian America really masks a hopeless groping for meaningful lives that is doomed

to failure unless God's people share their knowledge of God. But there are even some within our churches who have the kind of ignorance of God Paul was speaking of here: their knowledge of his truth is minimal. They have never been sufficiently challenged or effectively taught.

Paul's desire for his readers is still relevant: that each of us will be so captivated by what God has done for us in Christ, and by what he has planned for us as revealed in Scripture, that it will make a difference in our lives; that it will lift our eyes to spiritual goals; that the world's values will be less attractive; and that our excitement over what new life in Christ really means will make us sensitive to others whose greatest need is the knowledge of God.

WEAKNESS LANGUAGE IN GALATIANS

DAVID ALAN BLACK

The Apostle Paul can rightly be regarded as "the Theologian of Weakness." Yet Paul's theology of weakness developed in a dynamic fashion in response to the situations facing him, and his particular formulations are consistently adapted and designed to meet particular issues at hand. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in those letters in which the apostle finds himself forced to answer the criticisms of his opponents regarding his own weakness (Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians). After an examination of Gal 4:9 and 13, the author concludes that weakness language is Paul's way of making clear to his readers in Galatia that the source of power for salvation and progress in holiness is found, not in one's religious activities (4:9) nor in one's own personal strengths (4:13), but in God himself.

* * *

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE most unified and highly developed concept of "weakness" in the NT is to be found in the writings of the Apostle Paul.¹ It is therefore all the more surprising that the Pauline weakness terminology has received virtually no comprehensive study outside of Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians.² In this article our purpose is not

¹The root ἀσθεν appears in the NT 83 times and in the Pauline Epistles 44 times, or 53% of the total (Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* [Zürich: Gotthelf, 1958] 79). The motif is most extensively developed in Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Corinthians, where the words appear 38 times, or 86% of the total in Paul. The single largest complex of the termini is in 2 Corinthians 10-13, where the words appear a total of 14 times; the second largest is in 1 Corinthians (15 times), and the third largest is in Roman (8 times). In other instances (1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Timothy) the words occur only once or twice.

²The interpretation of the Pauline use of ἀσθένεια and its cognates has centered for the most part on "problem" passages such as 1 Corinthians 8, 2 Corinthians 10-13 and Romans 14. Among the more important studies of the meaning of ἀσθένεια in specific contexts are those of Gerd Theissen, "Die Starken und Schwachen in Korinth,"

to discuss every occurrence of ἀσθένεια and its cognates, but to examine two of the earliest, and in some ways the most unique, occurrences of the word-group found in a fascinating passage in Galatians (4:1–20). We hope thereby to make a helpful contribution to one aspect of Pauline lexicography in particular and to Pauline theology in general.

EXEGESIS OF THE TEXTS

In the letter to the Galatians weakness language occurs only twice but in two closely related places. The neuter plural adjective is found in the formulaic phrase τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα (“the weak and beggarly elements”) in 4:9, while δι’ ἀσθενείαν τῆς σαρκός (“on account of a weakness of the flesh”), a reference to the occasion of Paul’s Galatian visit, appears in 4:13. Since both of these references are in highly polemical settings, it seems evident that each plays a vital role in Paul’s argument against the legalistic threat to the Galatian churches. But because the terms are employed in two different paragraphs with differing themes and perspectives, each occurrence must be studied individually if we are to understand the specific role the motif plays in the argument of the author in Galatians.

A. Galatians 4:9

The first occurrence of ἀσθενής is in the section which comprises 4:8–11, where Paul begins a lengthy appeal to the Galatians based on his previous assertion that all Christians are sons and heirs of God and therefore free from the law. Although it would be a mistake to try to force logical cohesion all through this section—Galatians being an emotional *apologia pro vita sua*—we can reconstruct with some accuracy the apostle’s train of thought in the broader context as follows: (a) in 4:1–7 he first illustrates the freedom of the Christian with an example from ordinary life concerning the legal status of a

EvT 35 (1975) 155–72; Max Rauer, *Die “Schwachen” in Korinth und Rom* (BibS[F]21; Freiburg: Herder, 1923); Walter Schmithals, *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1975) 95–107; and Erhardt Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr* (FRLANT 90; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 142–70. The most thorough and comprehensive investigations of the words in their wider meaning are found in Ernst Käsemann, *Die Legitimität des Apostels: Eine Untersuchung zu II Korinther 10–13* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956) 37–43; Eric Fuchs, “La faiblesse, gloire de l’apostolat selon Paul (Etude sur 2 Co 10–13),” *ETR* 2 (1980) 231–53; and J. Cambier, “Le critère paulinien de l’apostolat en 2 Co 12, 6s,” *Bib* 43 (1962) 481–518. Special notes have been devoted to the word-group in various NT commentaries, but on a limited scale, and nowhere are the weakness-termini in Galatians given a unified treatment.

child; (b) in 4:8–11 he shows that the special observance of certain portions of the Jewish sacred calendar is a return to the “elements” from which the Galatians had been saved; and (c) in 4:12–20 Paul makes a personal appeal to the Galatians, based on his former relationship with them, to accept him and his message.

The uniquely Pauline expression τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα in 4:9, which is to be understood in conjunction with the parallel expression in 4:3, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, suggests a relationship of some sort between the first two of these paragraphs, i.e., between 4:1–7 and 4:8–11. This relationship is probably best understood in terms of Paul’s concept of the status of Christians prior to the coming of faith. In 4:1–11 his main concern is to contrast the former condition of his readers with their new state after being converted. Since Paul views the human condition apart from Christ as servitude to “the elements of the world” (4:3), he is surprised to hear that the Galatians are ready to sacrifice all the privileges of their new religion by going back to their former state of slavery under these elements (4:9). Formerly the Galatians, mostly pagans, had been under bondage to heathenism, but have since “come to know God” (4:9). Do they now wish to enslave themselves again, this time to Judaism and its ritual?

Paul argues against returning to the elements first of all with an illustration of guardianship (4:1–7). The condition of man under the law is inferior, writes the apostle, because man under law is like an heir who has been placed under a guardian and has no freedom of action. With this familiar custom the Galatians are to realize that, by returning to their former condition they would be losing, not gaining, and would again become νήπιοι, δούλοι, ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπου καὶ οἰκονόμου (4:1, 2). Next, Paul stresses that if the Gentile Galatians adopt Jewish practices, they will be returning to slavery from the glorious liberty enjoyed by the sons of God in Christ Jesus (cf. 3:26). Therefore the apostle exhorts the Galatian Christians to leave behind religious ritualism lest they again become enslaved and forfeit their rights as heirs according to the promise (4:8–11).

In general, these verses are clear enough, but the passage is not without its problems. The main difficulty is the word στοιχεῖα itself, which in 4:9 the KJV represents by “elements” and the RSV by “elemental spirits.”³ What exactly were these “weak” στοιχεῖα to which the Galatians were in bondage (4:3) and under whose power they were in danger of returning (4:9)? A consultation of the lexicons reveals that the word is capable of an extraordinary range of meanings

³Cf. NEB, “spirits of the elements”; NASB, “elemental things”; NIV, “principles.”

and its usage in Paul is by no means settled.⁴ Of all the interpretations advanced in the exegesis of this verse,⁵ three possible meanings come into play.

First, στοιχεῖα may be taken as referring to the law of Israel exclusively. Though this view is consistent with Paul's teaching on the Mosaic institution—that it enslaves men (3:23)—it is difficult to see its application to the Gentiles⁶ who were never under the Mosaic system in their pre-Christian state. Nor does this view explain the additional phrase τοῦ κόσμου (4:3) which implies a non-divine origin of the στοιχεῖα, in contrast to the Jewish emphasis on the other-worldly character of the commandments.

Second, the reference to the former bondage to the "elements" may be a description of enslavement to personal spiritual beings under whose power the Gentile Galatians had been held prior to their conversion.⁷ The word στοιχεῖα may come to mean "angels" or

⁴See esp. BAGD 768–69. Στοιχεῖα is the neuter plural form of the adjective στοιχείος, which means "standing in a row," "an element in a series." By metonymy, however, the word came to refer to the ultimate parts of anything. It is used in classical Greek to refer to the letters of the alphabet, from which came the meaning "rudiments," the "ABCs" of any subject. It can also refer to the component parts of physical bodies; in particular it was the Stoic term for the four elements: earth, water, air, and fire. In Christian writers from the middle of the second century A.D. the term is used in an astronomical sense to mean the heavenly bodies. In Hellenism the word came to include not only the physical elements but the spirits believed to be behind them, the "cosmic beings." These personified στοιχεῖα came to be understood as the lords of the world, the final and most important principles of life, and as such were considered worthy of man's worship.

The precise meaning of στοιχεῖα in Paul is still a matter of debate, and the question must be left open until more evidence comes to light. For a detailed survey of the interpretations of the term in the pre-Christian, Christian, patristic and modern eras, see C. J. Kurapati, *Spiritual Bondage and Christian Freedom according to Paul: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1976); cf. A. J. Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements of the World. An Exegetical Study in Aspects of Paul's Teaching* (Kampen: Kok, 1964) 5–30; G. Delling, "στοιχέω, κτλ.," *TWNT* 7 (1964) 670–82. On the meaning of στοιχεῖα in Paul see esp. Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 57–68; Delling, "στοιχέω, κτλ.," 683–86; F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief* (HTKNT; Freiburg: Herder, 1974) 293–303; E. Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950) 510–18.

⁵In the commentaries the term is usually discussed under 4:3. However, by common consent the meaning of στοιχεῖα is identical in both Gal 4:3 and 9, even though in the latter verse the expression τοῦ κόσμου is absent.

⁶The context indicates that Paul wrote this section with the Gentile Galatians especially in mind: (a) they were obviously idol worshippers (4:8), and (b) they had become Christians directly and not through Judaism as proselytes (3:1–6); cf. Burton, *Galatians*, 215.

⁷So J. M. Boice (*Galatians*, in Vol. 10 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary [Romans-Galatians]* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1976] 472) and many other commentators. The law and the στοιχεῖα are so intimately related that some scholars see

"spirits," and if this is Paul's meaning here, he will be referring to demonic bondage which is the ultimate contrast to freedom in Christ. The advantage of this view is that it agrees with the reference to the false gods (or demons) in 4:8 which the Galatians, as pagans, no doubt formerly worshipped. The disadvantage is that it is hard to see how Paul could include himself,⁸ a Pharisee, among those who had been in bondage to weak and beggarly astral spirits who control the universe. Furthermore, this interpretation relies on literature somewhat late for the period in which Paul wrote his letters.⁹

Third, the word στοιχεῖα may be taken as referring to the elemental stages of religious experience which are common to all men. According to this view, the expression "the elements of the world" indicates rudimentary teaching regarding rules, regulations, laws and religious ordinances by means of which both Jews and Gentiles, each in their own way, tried to earn their salvation.¹⁰ This meaning of στοιχεῖα, or one closely related to it, is possibly involved also in Col 2:8 and 20.

Support for this latter viewpoint is, in our opinion, stronger than for the two former interpretations. Paul seems to apply his remarks in this chapter equally to the Jewish and Gentile worlds. Only this view allows for that fact. It is evident also that at least in one respect the στοιχεῖα against which the apostle warns in Galatians involved Mosaic-Pharisaic ordinances. When Gal 4:10 is considered as an interpretation of 4:9, this verse indicates that the στοιχεῖα can in a general way be considered merely as rudimentary religious observances, void of any authentic intrinsic meaning or worth. Elementary teachings regarding regulations such as these were employed by both Jews and Gentiles alike in their attempt to achieve redemption and salvation.¹¹ Jewish religion considered law-observance, as well as the

both Judaism and paganism among the personal spirits; cf. Bo Reicke ("The Law and the World according to Paul," *JBL* 70 [1951] 259-76, esp. pp. 261-63) who identifies the "elements" with the good angels who ordained the law (cf. Gal. 3:19).

⁸Cf. 4:3: "So also when we were children, we were enslaved under τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου."

⁹Cf. Delling, "στοιχεῖω, κτλ.," 682-83, and Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 43-46 and 58. The meaning "spiritual power" for στοιχεῖον is not attested before the *Testamentum Salomonis* dated to the 4th century A.D.

¹⁰So, e.g., William Hendriksen, *Exposition of Galatians* (NTC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1968) 157. Burton (*Galatians*, 518) defines στοιχεῖα as "the rudimentary religious teachings possessed by the race."

¹¹The observance of "days, months, seasons and years" (4:10) implies cultic activities known to both Judaism and paganism and which are probably to be regarded as typical religious behavior; so Hans Dieter Betz, *A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 217. For the view that these activities are sacred Jewish seasons only, cf. John Eadie, *A Commentary on*

keeping of the multitudinous rules added by religious leaders to those previously given at Sinai, as the way whereby salvation could be attained. The worshippers of pagan deities, on the other hand, sought to achieve salvation by their own rituals and in accordance with their own unregenerate nature, the σάρξ.¹² But both Jews and Gentiles in their pre-Christian state are in bondage to ordinances and regulations. Thus for the Gentile Christians, under the influence of the false teachers, to turn again¹³ to the στοιχεῖα is in Paul's mind simply an exchange of one form of bondage (to heathenism) for another (to Judaism).

In the question in 4:9 begun by πῶς—"How is it possible that you are returning again to the weak and beggarly στοιχεῖα?"—Paul expresses his utter shock to learn that men who had been delivered from the enslaving teachings of paganism now wish to become enslaved all over again, this time by Jewish regulations. That they could consider a return to such bondage is especially incomprehensible in view of the fact that they had actually come to know God in a personal, genuine way.¹⁴ Although the Galatians had not yet gone as far as the Judaizers had wanted them to go—they have not been circumcized (5:2)—Paul fears his labor in evangelizing them will eventually be wasted (4:11). Their course of action is to the missionary Paul as inexcusable as it is inexplicable, and his astonishment forces him to take up once again, though now with new intensity, his discussion of the deadly character of legalism.¹⁵

the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians (reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 315–17; Hendriksen, *Galatians*, 165–66.

¹²According to Bandstra (*The Law and the Elements*, 61–71), the two most important basic forces in the στοιχεῖα are the law and the flesh. Therefore the yielding of the Galatians to the observance of feast days is at the same time an act of submission to the flesh; the observance itself is but evidence of their enslavement to the σάρξ.

¹³Πάλιν does not mean "back" (*retro*) but "again" (*iterum*), though the notion of "going back" to the elements is clearly implied in the prepositional prefix of ἐπιστρέφειν.

¹⁴The participle is γνόντες (4:9), not εἰδότες (cf. 4:8). On this distinction see Donald W. Burdick, "Οἶδα and Γινώσκω in the Pauline Epistles," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, eds. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 344–56, esp. pp. 351–52.

¹⁵One must, however, distinguish between Paul's evaluation of the situation and what the Galatians' point of view was. In Paul's mind the Galatians were about to give up Christianity and return to paganism (i.e., "slavery"). The Galatians, on the other hand, desired only to switch from the Pauline form of Christianity to the Jewish form which required circumcision and law-obedience. They never imagined that the acceptance of the Torah meant a return to paganism, that being ὑπὸ νόμον was the same as being ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου; cf. Betz, *Galatians*, 217; Boice, *Galatians*, 476; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (NICNT; Grand

Accordingly, we believe that the most consistent answer to the problem of στοιχεῖα in 4:9 is found when the term is understood as referring to elemental stages of religion whereby both Jew and Gentile sought to gain salvation. According to the context, service under the στοιχεῖα must be wide enough to embrace both the service of the Jews under the law of Moses and that of the Gentiles under the false gods. If this interpretation is correct, Paul virtually identifies the religious celebrations of the Jews, who worship the true and living God, with those of the heathen, who worship τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς (4:8). This is in perfect agreement with Paul's earlier teaching that the purpose of the Mosaic law was not to deliver, but to hold Jews captive in preparation for the deliverance which was to come through the promised "seed" (3:19–22).

However, it should be noted that Paul's use of στοιχεῖα for the common enslavement of both Jew and Gentile does not involve an identification in every respect. The Jew still sought to worship the true God, while the Gentile δεισιδαιμονία involved objects of worship which "by their very nature" (φύσει) could not be considered "gods" in any sense (4:8). Still, both situations are equal in the single point that they both involve a bondage, in contrast to the glorious liberty and freedom enjoyed by the "sons of God" (3:26–4:7).¹⁶ In this sense, Jewish law is simply one particular manifestation of that which inevitably enslaves all men in a helpless condition which only faith in the promised Messiah can remedy (4:3–5). Thus, while there is not identity, there is such a similarity between the heathen *cultus* and the Mosaic ritual that both may be described by the same epithet, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.

This brings us to the problem of the specific meaning of ἀσθενῆ in 4:9. If our interpretation of the στοιχεῖα which bring enslavement is correct, then the addition of the adjectival modifiers ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχά will be Paul's way of emphasizing the total powerlessness of the law and its observance to gain the favor of God. This is an important facet of the apostle's overall argument in Galatians, fighting as he must against an overevaluation of the law by which obedience to its commandments becomes a way of salvation. To the preachers of Judaism, Paul's gospel was in this respect woefully deficient and

Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953) 161. Therefore Paul is anxious to show the Galatians that the opponents are actually enemies of the gospel who seek to destroy the church (1:6–9). He who chooses to follow their way not only falls back into the servitude of the elements, but is obligated to do the impossible: keep the whole law (5:3).

¹⁶On the significance of the motif of sonship in Galatians, see the excellent monograph by Brendan Byrne, "Sons of God"—"Seed of Abraham" (AnBib 83; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1979) 141–90.

therefore merely κατὰ ἄνθρωπον (1:11), for it needed to be "corrected" by the observance of special days, months, seasons and years (4:10), and especially by the observance of the markedly Jewish rite of circumcision (5:2-3, 6, 11; 6:12). Incredibly, the Galatians were on the verge of adopting the entire cultic-ritualistic system of Judaism as a means of completing what had begun only "imperfectly" under the tutelage of Paul.

Since the Galatians do not regard their course as a dangerous one, Paul must try to convince them that their present drift toward legalism is in reality a return to slavery. Contrary to the claims of the Judaizers, the στοιχεῖα are ineffective for giving life, for they are ἀσθενῆ and lack the inherent power to accomplish salvation. The Mosaic law, as a member or component part (στοιχείον) of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, requires what God demands, but is powerless to accomplish anything ultimately positive. The law provokes sin and transgression (Rom 5:20), condemns sin (Rom 4:15; Gal 3:10), and serves as a παιδαγωγός¹⁷ (Gal 3:23-25), but it also is the power of sin (1 Cor 15:56) and the occasion for sin (Rom 7:8, 11) and inevitably leads to death. Thus, in Paul's mind the "weak" law is in one aspect definitely a *force* to be reckoned with as it operates in the sphere of the flesh and ultimately issues in sin and death. The opponents, and now the Galatians, understood the elements as life-bringing forces, but Paul knows that they are really "weak and beggarly," completely ineffectual to do what the law-preachers have promised.

Because the law involves religious bondage, it is not surprising to find Paul's warnings against it in this passage and indeed throughout the entire letter (cf. 1:9, 2:4-5, 15-21; 3:1-5; 5:1-4; 6:7-8, 12-13). Inherent in the Christian life is the potential danger of a man once again seeking to live according to the law and flesh. But this course of life brings men into bondage, "be it the bondage of the immature heir, the Jew, or that of the slave, the Gentile,"¹⁸ or, we might add, that of the misdirected Christian. Therefore, since any observance of Jewish ritual practices by Gentile converts amounts to nothing less than a return to bondage to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Paul must go

¹⁷The term παιδαγωγός stresses the positive, but purely preparatory aspect of the law's function. Because the Judaizers attempted to extend that function *beyond* the time of Christ's coming, Paul must stress its provisional status. If J. W. MacGorman is correct, the English rendering of παιδαγωγός should emphasize the *custodial* (i.e., "custodian," "guardian") rather than the *educative* (i.e., "schoolmaster," "tutor") function of the law in Gal 3:24-25. See his article, "The Law as Paidagogos: A Study in Pauline Analogy," in *New Testament Studies, Essays in Honor of Ray Summers*, eds. Huber L. Drumright and Curtis Vaughan (Waco, Texas: Markham, 1975) 99-111, esp. p. 110.

¹⁸Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements*, 65.

to great lengths to convince the Galatians that these ritualistic celebrations are valid only for those who are still controlled by the old aeon. With regard to the salvation and sanctification of Christians, the elements are both ἀσθενῇ and πτωχά, and indeed are a stumbling block to the Christian life.

Paul's view that the law in its weakness works spiritual death finds its main parallel in his acknowledgment that in the death and resurrection of Christ the law and the στοιχεῖα have been conquered. This fact is not insignificant in our quest to understand Paul's weakness language in Galatians, nor is it without parallel in the apostle's other writings: "God did what the law, weakened as it was by the flesh [ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός], could not do; sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh" (Rom 8:3). Paul rejects the works of the law because God has rejected in the person and work of Christ a life dedicated to nomistic service. The condition of man under law has now in Christ been superseded by a new set of conditions, namely, faith in Christ and his confession before men. God's people are therefore marked by faith, as indeed Abraham was (3:6-9), not by the works of the law.¹⁹ Thus Paul insists that legalism is a betrayal of the whole gospel (5:2-4), for righteousness before God is a result only of faith and is a free gift which cannot be merited by a man (5:5). *Nothing* therefore is able (σθένος) to earn salvation or sanctification—neither circumcision nor uncircumcision (5:6).

Having condemned such behavior, the apostle adds that life in Christ involves a different kind of bondage, which he defines explicitly in 5:13-14 as one's love of his neighbor. With six Greek words he reduces all of the statutes of the Jewish law into a single one: ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν; "you shall love your neighbor as [you love] yourself" (5:14). His purpose of course is to show that in the single commandment to love of Lev 19:18 are summarized all the requirements of the Christian faith.²⁰ Here Paul can speak favorably of the law, for when Christians love and serve others, the law is fulfilled. This fact, however, in no way weakens Paul's argument against law and in defense of a gospel of pure grace. The law as a system of rules and regulations has no place in the life of a Christian, for it cannot effectuate its own fulfillment, but the essential ends of the law can and will be met through those who live in and are led by the Spirit (5:16-18). This life in the Spirit (πνεύματι)

¹⁹Cf. in this connection Joseph B. Tyson, "'Works of Law' in Galatians," *JBL* 92 (1973) 430-31. See also Markus Barth's discussion of Paul's use of πίστις in Galatians, in "The Kerygma of Galatians," *Int* 21 (1967) 143-45.

²⁰Victor Paul Furnish (*The Love Command in the New Testament* [New York: Abingdon, 1972] 96-97) offers an excellent discussion of this subject.

is characterized neither by legalism nor by license, but by a life of faith and love which Paul discusses in concrete terms in the following verses (5:19–26).²¹

This being the case, there is a certain presumption in viewing the στοιχεῖα (and the law) not as something positively evil *per se*, but as elements which are ἀσθενῆ and ineffectual, and therefore open to the dangerous possibility of enslaving men who were redeemed by Christ and through him have begun a new existence in the Spirit. Or to use Paul's terms, while the στοιχεῖα are not inherently harmful, they are "weak," for they are incompetent to bring salvation and life, and "beggarly," for they have no wealth whereby they can provide an inheritance. Since they are operative in the κόσμος, within the sphere of human activity, and among a fallen mankind, they are unable to set men free as Christ has done by redeeming them through his death on a tree (3:13).

The accent in Gal 4:3 and 9 would therefore appear to lie on the modifying expressions τοῦ κόσμου and ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχά. The latter expression can be considered as a substitute for the former, for the words "weak and beggarly" in 4:9 describe what in essence is meant by the genitive "of the world" in 4:3.²² The noun κόσμος here does not mean "the universe" or "the material world," but "the world of mankind," the present eschatological age, and hence the στοιχεῖα are those elements which enslave the members of the old aeon to which the Galatians are tempted to return. The adjectives ἀσθενῆ and πτωχά are therefore only too appropriate to describe the impotence of the στοιχεῖα of the κόσμος to provide salvation for man and deliverance from his present bondage. The ascription ἀσθενῆ does not deny the harmful potential of the enslaving powers, but emphasizes their identity with the sphere of human activity which belongs to the old aeon and which is passing away, and signifies the total powerlessness of commandments with reference to spiritual deliverance. Thus the στοιχεῖα are ἀσθενῆ, "parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas opérer ce qu'ils prétendent, conduire les hommes au salut."²³ They are also πτωχά, a term which in classical Greek referred to basic economic deprivation but came to mean, metaphorically, deprivation of power and dignity.²⁴ Its meaning here is that the religious elements of the old age are not

²¹Cf. Wolfgang Schrage, *Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1961) 231–33.

²²So Reicke, "The Law and the World," 264–65; cf. Delling, "στοιχέω, κτλ.," 685: "Man kann fragen ob ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχά nicht den Genitiv τοῦ κόσμου interpretieren; jedenfalls ist mit beiden negativen Wendungen alle vorchristliche Religion zusammenfassend abgeurteilt."

²³M. J. Lagrange, *Saint Paul: Epître aux Galates* (EB; Paris: Lecoffre, 1950) 107.

²⁴Ernst Bammel, "πτωχός, κτλ.," *TWNT* 6 (1959) 885–915, esp. p. 909.

only powerless but also resourceless to supply what is needed to extricate man from his bondage to sin and the flesh, in contrast to "the unsearchable riches of Christ" (Heb 7:8).

Therefore, while it is not necessary to restrict the meaning of ἀσθενῆ too rigidly,²⁵ in view of the emphasis in this section upon the inadequacy of the law, it would seem that the apostle is thinking especially of the impotence of legal enactments to secure salvation or progress in holiness, regardless of whatever beneficial side-effects such "fundamental religious elements" might have. These στοιχεῖα, common to both pagan and Jewish religion, not only cannot procure spiritual blessings, but ultimately bring men into bondage to their own impulse to be made perfect in the flesh (3:3) and are thus to be avoided by the Christian at all costs.

B. Galatians 4:13

The second occurrence of weakness-termini in Galatians is found at the beginning of the highly enigmatic paragraph (4:12–20) devoted to a discussion of the Galatians' former attachment to Paul and why they should now follow his earnest counsel to reject the gospel of the false teachers. Considerations of space preclude a disproportionate discussion of the critical problem concerning the chronology of Galatians raised by τὸ πρότερον in v 13. Within the scope of this study we must accept the possibility that the words can mean "on the former of two occasions," though in our view 4:13 does not demand two visits of Paul to Galatia (according to Koine usage τὸ πρότερον can just as easily be rendered "originally," or "previously").²⁶ Certainly the question of whether 4:13 does or does not support the south-Galatian hypothesis cannot be resolved here; regardless of one's position on that issue, however, these verses clearly refer to Paul's preaching on the occasion of the founding of the Galatic churches.

There are few NT phrases which can boast of such a variety of interpretations as δι' ἀσθενειαν τῆς σαρκός in Gal 4:13. Paul makes it clear that the Galatians know what his "weakness" actually is, but his readers today have not had their eyewitness advantage, and they are left to infer from the context the identity of Paul's ἀσθενεια. This means that in order to gain an accurate knowledge of the content of

²⁵E.g., Boice (*Galatians*, 473) offers the interesting suggestion that there is a subtle link between the ideas of redemption and adoption in 4:5 and the phrase "the weak and beggarly elements." H. Schlier (*Der Brief an die Galater* [KEK; 14th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971] 203) correctly emphasizes the powerlessness of the elements "gegenüber der Macht und dem Leben Gottes und seiner 'Söhne', und erweist sich ihre Verehrung als die angestrengte und furchtsame Leistung an überwundene und verfallende Götter." Many other parallels and points of contrast could be noted.

²⁶See BAGD 722.

the term ἀσθένεια in 4:13, it is once again necessary to study the word in the context of Paul's wider argument in this portion of the letter.

At this juncture in Galatians 4 Paul has turned from formal argument to an appeal to the former bond of unity which existed between him and the Galatian churches. The intensely personal quality of this appeal is seen throughout, but especially in v 19 where the apostle compares himself to a mother enduring birth-pangs and the Galatians to a human embryo in the process of being formed. The metaphors need not be pressed too far; indeed, the whole image seems to break down because the formation of a child in the womb can hardly be said to *follow* labor pains. This is, however, no reason to regard this verse as a later interpolation:²⁷ Paul simply wants to emphasize by the use of word-pictures his great pastoral concern and love for his converts.

This intensely personal and highly enigmatic entreaty poses an interesting question of interpretation: Why does the apostle suddenly bring up, in the middle of his discussion of the Christian's freedom from the law, the subject of the particular circumstances of the founding of the Galatian churches, including his ἀσθένεια? The Galatians were already quite aware of the situation (cf. οἶδατε, 4:13). How can this intimate account be an argument against those who were wooing the Galatians into legalism?

The obscurity of this passage perhaps cannot be explained in a purely logical way; it is possible that Paul was so overwhelmed by emotion at this point in writing that he simply lost his train of thought. For this reason many scholars are of the opinion that Paul has ceased argumentation and has turned to emotional begging and appealing.²⁸ But psychological interpretations of the passage, while properly pointing to the intensity and passion of Paul's appeal, fail to recognize the rhetorical character of these verses.

²⁷Cf. J. C. O'Neill (*The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians* [London: S.P.C.K., 1972] 61–62) who ascribes the words μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν to a glossator.

²⁸According to Lagrange (*Galates*, 110–11), Paul's appeal is "moins un raisonnement qu'un desir passionné d'union par une bonne volonté réciproque. Paul a fait les premiers pas: que les Galates en fassent autant!" The same idea is expressed by A. Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (ThHK 9; 2nd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957) 140–41; Burton, *Galatians*, 235; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 304–5. Robertson writes: "It is just in writers of the greatest mental activity and vehemence of spirit that we meet most instances of anacoluthon. Hence a man with the passion of Paul naturally breaks away from formal rules in the structure of the sentence when he is greatly stirred, as in Gal. and 2 Cor." A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934) 435.

Betz²⁹ has demonstrated the remarkable similarity between this section and the standard Hellenistic literary topos of "friendship" (περὶ φιλίας), which calls for a change between heavy and light sections and an emotional appeal to offset mere abstract argumentation. Both the Galatians and Paul would have been acquainted with this theme, and if the similarity here is more than coincidental, Paul will be arguing that his relationship with the Galatians (his "true friendship") now, as then, requires the reciprocity of his converts. The force of the argument lies in the fact that when Paul needed help the most, the Galatians did not hesitate to provide without reservation the assistance required to restore him. And though they could have found cause to despise him, they had proven their friendship by accepting Paul as an ἄγγελον θεοῦ, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (v 14). But they had not only received Paul with open hearts—they had also accepted the message of life which accompanied him to Galatia, thus creating between them a bond of Christian φιλία. It is this "friendship" that forms the basis of Paul's present appeal to the Galatians.

This means that the present passage in Galatians "is neither inconsistent nor lacking argumentative force,"³⁰ but serves to accentuate the paradox that these same ones who had once so enthusiastically received Paul now consider him as their enemy and reject his gospel. The appeal of this section, then, is an argument for the reestablishment of a good personal relationship which each party had once enjoyed but which the Galatians' present inclination to live by the law has soured.

Paul opens his appeal with the puzzling words γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς, "become as I, for I also as you" (4:12). The expression is capable of a wide variety of interpretations. In view of the preceding reference to law and the elements (4:1-11), the probable meaning is that Paul is asking the Galatians to enter into the freedom from law which he now enjoys, while at the same time reminding them of his former identification with the Gentile Galatians in order to win them for Christ (cf. 1 Cor 9:20-22). If this interpretation is right, we can paraphrase the expression as follows: "Become as I am, for I also became as you were."³¹ In other words, in seeking to win them to Christ, the end of which was to make them like himself—free from the στοιχεῖα—Paul had made himself like the Galatians by disclaiming any special privilege as a Jew and by renouncing the

²⁹Galatians, 220-23.

³⁰Ibid., 221.

³¹Greek reconstruction: γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι, ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ἐγενόμην ὡς ὑμεῖς ἦτε; cf. Lagrange, *Galates*, 111. For an interesting parallel between Paul's use of ἀσθενεία in Gal 4:13 and his reference to "the weak" in 1 Cor 9:22, see the present writer's forthcoming article in *Biblica*: "A Note on 'the Weak' in 1 Cor, 9.22."

Mosaic law. On that basis, he now appeals to the Galatians to rid themselves of the nomists and become like him in regard to his Christian liberty.

Paul's original reception by the Galatians is described in vv 13–15. The brief statement in v 12, "you have done me no wrong" (οὐδέν με ἠδίκησατε), which really belongs with these verses, is a *litotes* and should be understood as expressing an affirmative idea: they had treated him properly.³² Exactly how properly is recounted in what follows.

In these verses there are six major statements, three concerning Paul, and three in regard to the Galatians. Concerning himself, the apostle first reminds his readers that he had preached the good tidings among them, but that he did so on account of bodily infirmity (or, notwithstanding it), and that his condition had subjected the Galatians to the temptation to reject him and his message. Regarding the Galatians, he affectionately recalls how they had resisted their³³ impulse to condemn or loathe him on account of his infirmity, and how they had received him with enthusiasm—so much so that they would have parted with anything, even their own eyes, as an expression of the depth of their attachment to him. It is in this context—where Paul states his desire that the Galatians might return to the true gospel by recollecting what they had once gladly accepted from him—that the apostle uses for the first time the noun ἀσθένεια (or any of its cognates) to refer to himself.

There is some discussion as to the correct translation of the preposition διὰ in v 14. A number of scholars think δι' ἀσθένειαν refers to an *accompanying circumstance*,³⁴ while others construe the expression causally, making the illness the *occasion*³⁵ of Paul's preaching in Galatia. Though the former meaning is not impossible,³⁶

³²It is imprecise to say, as Schlier does (*Galater*, 209), that the statement also applies to the present situation. Although the aorist, as a tense, does not necessarily refer to past time (cf. Charles R. Smith, "Errant Aorist Interpreters," *GTJ* 2 [1981] 207–209), the aorist indicative ἠδίκησατε probably should be given a past signification, as should also the following series of verbs in the aorist indicative.

³³ὁμῶν ("your temptation"), read by $\aleph^* A B D^* F G$ it (most) vg Ambrosiaster appears to have better external attestation than the reading μου ("my temptation"), supported by $p^{46} C^{*vid} D^{b,c} K P \Psi Byz$ it^a Chrysostom. The latter pronoun may have replaced the former "in order to alleviate the difficulty of the expression τὸν πειρασμὸν ὁμῶν." Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London/New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 596.

³⁴E.g., Oepke, *Galater*, 105, "den begleitenden Umstand"; Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 166; Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, 175.

³⁵E.g., Eadie, *Galatians*, 321–22; Betz, *Galatians*, 224; Boice, *Galatians*, 478; Schlier, *Galater*, 210; Mussner, *Galaterbrief*, 307.

³⁶Lagrange (*Galates*, 112) overstates the case when he says that the expression "ne peut avoir qu'un sens: 'à cause d'une maladie de la chair'."

on the whole it seems most likely that the latter significance of *διὰ* is to be preferred here. The continuous or characteristic condition of the preacher would be expressed by *διὰ* plus the genitive,³⁷ not the accusative; but in the Greek text the only reading that was transmitted is *ἀσθένειαν*. And while examples of *διὰ* plus the accusative in inexact usage can be cited (e.g., Rom 3:25; 8:20), the most natural meaning of the word in terms of the context is plainly "because of."

The preposition, then, signifies either that Paul was detained in Galatia through which he had merely intended to pass, or else that he was forced for his health's sake to visit Galatia which he otherwise would not have visited. In the latter case, even if the illness was the occasion of Paul's visit to Galatia, the problem most probably persisted for a period of time while he was there. But while it is best to understand *δι' ἀσθένειαν* as the *specific* cause for Paul's preaching in Galatia, the *general* cause or motivation for preaching lay grounded in the appointment of God which Paul carried out in obedience as a *δοῦλος* of Christ (Gal 1:10) and an *οἰκονόμος* of God (1 Cor 4:1), compelled by a deep sense of devotion to the Lord (2 Cor 5:14-15) and for his sake (2 Cor 4:5, 14). As the latter verse clearly indicates—*ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς*—Paul preached the gospel in the first place *διὰ Χριστόν*, not *δι' ἀσθένειαν*.³⁸

It is generally agreed today that *ἀσθένεια* refers to a physical condition of the apostle, and not to an unimpressive appearance, timidity, the emotional scars from persecution, sexual desires, human frailty in general, or some other figurative meaning. However, a few modern scholars still prefer the metaphorical meaning of the phrase *ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός* over the literal. For example, H. Binder, in his article entitled "Die angebliche Krankheit des Paulus,"³⁹ argues that "seine *asthénēia*, d.h. seine 'Schwachheit', bestand nur darin, dass er teilhatte am menschlichen Wesen."⁴⁰ A purely physical interpretation of *ἀσθένεια* is excluded because "in der Sprache des Paulus bedeutet *asthénēia* nie 'Krankheit', sondern immer 'Schwachheit', 'Kraftlosigkeit'."⁴¹ If this premise is true, it naturally follows that:

Hier wie dort vertritt Paulus den Gedanken der Armseligkeit, der Bedürftigkeit, der Schwäche, der Kraft—und Hilflosigkeit, des zum Scheitern Verurteiltseins—nicht der "leiblichen" Beschaffenheit des

³⁷Cf. 2 Cor 2:4, *διὰ δακρύων* ("in tears"); Rom 4:11, *δι' ἀκροβυστίας* ("in the condition of circumcision").

³⁸Cf. Theodor Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (KNT; Leipzig: Deichert, 1905) 215.

³⁹TZ 32 (1976) 1-13.

⁴⁰Ibid., 13.

⁴¹Ibid., 4.

Menschen sondern—seiner Existenz in der “Fleischlichkeit”, im “Fleisch”, in der Gottesferne.⁴²

Although this interpretation is possible—especially in view of the fact that Paul must have had an especially sturdy bodily constitution to endure his travels and trials (cf. 2 Cor 11:23–33)—the plausibility of Binder’s argument diminishes when one considers his major premise in greater detail. Binder expresses the “fact” that Paul never uses ἀσθένεια or its cognates to refer to a physical condition, and concludes from this that therefore Paul cannot have bodily infirmity in mind in Gal 4:13. But Binder’s argument at this point is a pure *petitio principii*: his conclusion is not surprising, since it was also his premise! It is not sufficient merely to state that Paul never uses ἀσθένεια in a physical sense; in light of Pauline usage elsewhere this premise is tenuous indeed. Certainly if Paul did ever use the word to describe the illness of others, he could conceivably have employed it to describe his own, and the force of Binder’s argument would be considerably weakened.

It is, in fact, manifest that Paul does on occasion employ the word-family to refer to a purely corporeal condition. In the Pastorals we learn that Trophimus remained in Miletus because of an incapacitating illness (2 Tim 4:20), and Timothy was urged to drink wine for medicinal purposes because of his frequent ailments (1 Tim 5:23). Certainly Epaphroditus’ distressing condition involved a physical sickness of some sort (Phil 2:26, 27).⁴³ In each of these cases an ἀσθένεια-word is employed. This euphemism usually implies in Greek (and the Pauline letters are evidently no exception) poor health.⁴⁴ In Gal 4:13, the phrase ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός as well as the context of the passage itself is clearly in keeping with this euphemistic usage, meaning “bodily infirmity.” It is not surprising that Paul employs this expression for a physical condition, for bodily illness is an inherent quality of the σὰρξ,⁴⁵ the old aeon, and the sphere of human activity which is temporal and weak.

⁴²Ibid., 7.

⁴³That the nature of Epaphroditus’ condition was physical and not psychological is clear from the context: Only a grave physical condition can account for (a) the Philippians’ severe distress of mind, and (b) the expression παραπλήσιον θανάτῳ (“at death’s door”) in 2:27.

⁴⁴See BAGD 115. Binder’s treatment of these passages, found only in a footnote, is inadequate: “Epaphroditus war nicht krank geworden, sondern in eine Situation geraten, der er nicht gewachsen war (Phil. 2, 26). Trophimus blieb nicht krank in Milet zurück, sondern in einer schwierigen, fast aussichtslosen Arbeit (2 Tim. 4, 20). Vielleicht war auch Timotheus nicht krank, als Paulus an ihn 1 Tim. 5, 23 schrieb” (“Die angebliche Krankheit des Paulus,” 13n.).

⁴⁵John A. T. Robinson, *The Body* (SBT 5; London: SCM Press, 1957) 20. According to E. Schweizer (“σὰρξ, κτλ,” *TWNT* 7 [1964] 124) σὰρξ in this context

Therefore, though it is not completely certain that the words ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός must be understood in a literal way as an actual distressing physical condition, it is nevertheless the most probable meaning in this context. This usage is entirely consistent with that in the Pastorals and Philippians where the word-group appears with the obvious meaning of sickness, and harmonizes perfectly with the common meaning of ἀσθένεια in the Synoptic gospels. We must, however, register our agreement with one emphasis of Binder's interpretation, namely, that Paul was, generally speaking, a healthy man. It is evident from both the epistles and the Acts that, in spite of the constant attacks made upon him by Jews and Gentiles alike and the many dangers he continually faced, the apostle remained a surprisingly strong individual. This point is well taken, but it does not exclude the possibility of an occasional prepossessing physical condition, as Binder maintains. We thus agree with the majority of commentators⁴⁶ that the statement δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός should be explained to mean that Paul was suffering from some sort of physical indisposition.

If we are certain that an unpleasant physical condition lay behind Paul's initial visit to Galatia, we cannot be certain of its precise nature. The difficulty of finding an answer lies primarily in the poverty of source materials. The apostle is always reticent to recount his own personal experiences, and when he does it is only briefly and without exception in polemical or argumentative contexts which do not lend themselves to precise forms of expression. That we know little of the person of Paul is not surprising, for his letters, though personal, are basically *pastoral* communications to congregations and are intended for public reading in the context of the churches' meetings. Therefore revelations about "Paul the Man" are largely incidental and usually of ancillary importance to the writer's overall purpose.⁴⁷

This means that we should not expect Paul to define his ἀσθένεια for us in any specific terms. Paul is aware that the Galatians know already what it is, and its mention might have detracted from his

should be understood in its physical sense; so also Bo Reicke, "Body and Soul in the New Testament," *ST* (1965) 201.

⁴⁶Cf. H. Schlier, *Grundzüge einer paulinischen Theologie* (Freiburg; Herder, 1978) 101: "körperliche Hinfälligkeit"; Oepke, *Galater*, 105: "leibliche Krankheit"; Zahn, *Galater*, 215: "eine Krankheit des Leibes"; Betz, *Galatians*, 224: "illness of the flesh"; Eadie, *Galatians*, 323: "infirmity of the flesh"; Hendriksen, *Galatians*, 171: "physical infirmity"; Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms. A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 154: "bodily frailty."

⁴⁷For a brief, but excellent discussion of the autobiographical Paul, see Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968) 10.

main appeal that is based not so much on his condition but on the Galatians' warm reception of him and his gospel.

In spite of these difficulties, research has fostered a wealth of hypotheses and inferences concerning the precise nature of Paul's ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός,⁴⁸ but neither Acts nor Galatians mentions it specifically, and even the most careful examination of the text will reveal no significant clues. The attempt to link Paul's illness to his "thorn in the flesh" (σκόλωσ τῇ σαρκί, 2 Cor 12:7) is common, but despite the similarities in language and subject matter, it is not necessary to find a reference to his σκόλωσ in this text. As Bring notes, to introduce the idea of a chronic ailment here is to introduce a Corinthian nuance which is foreign to the atmosphere of this letter.⁴⁹

If one adopts the South Galatian hypothesis—that Paul is writing to the churches in the *province* of Galatia—it can be argued that Paul's ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός was the result of what he suffered from his enemies on the so-called first missionary journey (Acts 13–14). If so, ἀσθένεια refers not to a particular sickness or disease, but to the physical abuse and resultant weakened physical condition which accrued to Paul in the form of maltreatment at Antioch (Acts 13:50, along with Barnabas) and of stoning at Lystra (Acts 14:19), the latter incident being so severe that Paul was left for dead (cf. 2 Tim 3:11).⁵⁰ The advantage of this view is that it accords with the Lucan account of Paul's travels in Acts, but it carries conclusive weight only with those already convinced of the South Galatian theory and the early dating of the letter.

The desire of the Galatians to pluck out (ἐξορύξαντες) their eyes—which they would have done had not the restriction in εἰ δυνατόν intervened—is evidence to some that Paul's ἀσθένεια was a form of ophthalmic disorder (4:15). If the gift could have relieved Paul's poor vision, so the argument goes, the Galatians would have parted with their own eyes quite willingly. However, although some type of eye disorder may have been involved in Paul's infirmity, it is not necessarily the meaning of this verse. The expression "to pluck out the eyes" is a common one both in the OT as well as in a great

⁴⁸E.g., migraine headaches, epilepsy, malaria, rheumatism, chronic ophthalmia, etc. For extensive listings of scholarly opinion on this issue, see esp. K. L. Schmidt, "κολαφίζω," *TWNT* 3 (1938) 818–21; BAGD 441–42; J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892) 186–91; Eadie, *Galatians*, 329–45.

⁴⁹"Es scheint sich dort aber eher um ein chronisches Leiden und hier um einen akuten Krankheitsfall zu handeln." R. Bring, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1968) 185. But even σκόλωσ in 2 Cor 12:7 may not refer to a chronic physical problem.

⁵⁰So, e.g., Ridderbos, *Galatians*, 30, 166–67.

variety of secular authors,⁵¹ and is most likely used here proverbially to emphasize the willingness of the Galatians to sacrifice their all for Paul: "Cela peut vouloir dire simplement qu'ils étaient prêts à sacrifier pour lui les biens les plus précieux."⁵² Thus τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς is here a synonym for that which is most precious to a man. As to the question, however, whether or not Paul was suffering from an eye ailment, we can draw no certain conclusions of any kind from Gal 4:15.⁵³

On the basis of 4:14—"the temptation to you in my flesh you did not despise nor loathe (οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε⁵⁴)"—others have supposed that Paul was epileptic, taking the aorist of ἐκπτύω literally with the meaning "to spit." While it is true that the ancient Greeks would expectorate at the sight of an epileptic seizure, the word ἐκπτύω contains also a metaphorical sense of loathing or rejecting,⁵⁵ and because the verb is coupled with ἐξουθενεῖν ("to despise"), and follows it, the figurative meaning here is the most likely.

Many other attempts to account for Paul's ἀσθένεια could be listed, but most of the suggestions carry the point too far, and all are open to legitimate inquiry and controversy. Whether or not Paul had one of the specific conditions mentioned above is finally a matter of pure conjecture. At any rate, in his use of ἀσθένεια the writer assumes that his readers are familiar with the word and the idea it connotes so that no further explanation is required.

As to the specific identity of the illness, then, it is possible to reconstruct only the most general description. We can infer from the context that the malady was suitable to give at least the impression that Paul's person and message were weak, even an object of derision to those who saw him in such a condition. We know further that this situation hindered Paul—at least he felt it could—but was overcome by the gracious reception of the Galatians who accepted the ill missionary as if they had been receiving the Lord himself. The illness must have also been severe enough to hinder Paul's mobility, yet not so severe as to prevent him from preaching the gospel. At the same

⁵¹See Eadie, *Galatians*, 327, who cites such examples as Deut 32:10; Ps 17:8; Prov 7:2; Zech 2:8; Horace, *Sat* ii.5, 33; and Terence, *Adelph*, v. 7–5.

⁵²André Viard, *Saint Paul: Épître aux Galates* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1964) 95.

⁵³The reference to "large letters" (πηλικά γράμματα) in 6:11 is said to support this view, but the expression is better understood to mean that Paul enlarged his writing to emphasize his personal greeting and impress his authority upon his readers than on the hypothesis that he so wrote because of age, infirmity, or lack of practice in writing Greek characters; cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 220–21.

⁵⁴p⁴⁶ lacks these words, no doubt an oversight of a scribe due to homoioteleuton.

⁵⁵BAGD 244; Joseph Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1955) 199.

time Paul must have found enough relief to permit him to continue his journey later.

But all we can say with certainty is that ἀσθένεια refers to some bodily infirmity which befell Paul and which was a potential source of offense to the Galatians. Since we do not have enough information for a diagnosis, all the suggestions as to the exact nature of his illness must remain conjectures.

CONCLUSION: WEAKNESS IN GALATIANS

In Galatians Paul's main object is to show that man is free from the law and that faith in Jesus Christ, not works of righteousness, brings salvation and eternal life. An essential part of his argument is the reference to "the elements of the world" which belong to the old aeon and bring men into bondage.

Because the στοιχεῖα are set over against both God and man, Paul's attitude toward the elements is always negative and fiercely polemical. His concern time and again is to demonstrate the total superiority of Christ over all powers, be they ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, κύριοι, κυριότητες, ἄρχοντες, θρόνοι, ἄγγελοι or, in our passage, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.⁵⁶ This is because to be subservient to the elements means to be in bondage to sin and, eventually, death. Servitude to the στοιχεῖα finds its only remedy in the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, who triumphed over them on the cross.⁵⁷ It is therefore beyond Paul that anyone delivered from these elements could desire to return to a position of slavery under them, especially if he had already appropriated the victory of Christ by "coming to a knowledge of God or, rather, being known by God" (4:9).

In Galatians Paul includes in the same category—the στοιχεῖα—the Mosaic law (the rudimentary teaching of the Jews) and the heathen systems from which the majority of the Galatians had been emancipated. These στοιχεῖα are wholly inadequate to secure spiritual deliverance or progress in holiness, a fact which the religious past of all Christians—whether Jew or Gentile—has shown to be true. It is only through the sending of the son (4:4) that status as sonship is conferred. This is achieved by pure grace working through faith. Therefore the στοιχεῖα can be described as ἀσθενῦ καὶ πτωχά, "denn

⁵⁶See Ragnar Leivestad, *Christ the Conqueror: Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954) 92–95.

⁵⁷The imagery of man's enslavement to and eventual triumph over the elements of the world is one of the major Pauline salvific motifs; see Eldon J. Epp, "Paul's Diverse Imageries of the Human Situation and His Unifying Theme of Freedom," in *Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology*, ed. Robert A. Guelich (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 105–8.

sie können nicht bewirken und verleihen, was Gott durch die Sendung seines Sohnes bewirkt und verliehen hat.”⁵⁸ They are no longer applicable to sons and heirs of God since they have been overcome by Christ the Conqueror and because the situation of slavery has been resolved.

It is therefore important for the apostle to emphasize the helplessness of all men ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in his attempt to contrast the situation of slavery with the present situation of salvation in Christ. In comparison with the power and wealth of the gospel, the old religious systems fade into insignificance. Even the Jewish law, which is both good and God-given (Rom 7:12, 22), when distorted into a means of earning salvation, can be used by Satan to bring men into bondage. Paul can therefore refer to a return to the elements and the adoption of the Mosaic law in the same breath, for the rudimentary teachings of the Gentiles correspond exactly to the ritualistic element in the law which is ἀσθενής to produce life.

In view of this, it is clear that Paul's main contention, and his primary purpose in ascribing to the στοιχεῖα the modifier ἀσθενῆ is to show that since a man is not justified by the keeping of the law, there are no Jewish requirements to be submitted to. Circumcision, feasts, clean and unclean meats, fasts, special days, etc., are now obsolete and have no meaning for the Christian. It is therefore unnecessary to adopt Jewish (or pagan) ordinances, for their observance is a return to the slavery involved in the elements and inevitably will destroy the work of Paul and the faith of his Galatian converts.

Amid the multitudinous possibilities of interpreting Paul's ἀσθένεια in 4:13, it is not easy to find one's way. But if our interpretation of the word's context is correct, then Paul there describes with the term his own corporeal condition which forced him to visit Galatia and which was at first a temptation to the Galatians to despise him. While the translation “illness” is perhaps a tendentious paraphrase for ἀσθένεια in this phrase, it best and most plainly conveys what the author desires to express with the words ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός. Of this illness, however, we know only that it existed and had an impact on his travel plans.

Since Paul's entire apostolic ministry was one of travels, the hopes and disappointments involved with his itinerary must have had special significance. In spite of, or better, because of the many frustrations encountered along the way, Paul had a firm conviction that his travel plans were in the Lord's hands. Even the physical problem which stranded him in Galatia proved to be a blessing in

⁵⁸F. Sieffert, *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 7; 7th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1880) 238.

disguise: Paul was able to evangelize an otherwise untouched area, thus accomplishing more than he had originally set out to. He learned through that experience that even an illness could be the occasion for preaching, just as later his imprisonment in Caesarea and Rome would work for the dissemination of the gospel.⁵⁹

Through his Galatian experience Paul had also been reminded of his own *Menschlichkeit* and the power of God in spite of it. Just as the στοιχεῖα belong to the old aeon, so in a sense does Paul. But this continuing participation in the κόσμος through suffering, weakness and illness forces him to look away from himself to the power of God for strength and sustenance. Paul's existence as an "apostle of weakness" in an earthen pot (2 Cor 4:7) has tremendous significance in that it serves to make clear to others that the source of his power is God and not himself. Evidently the Galatians recognized this, for they did not receive him on the basis of his personal appearance, physical health or rhetorical prowess, but because he was indeed the messenger of God bearing the word of Christ (Gal 4:14).

⁵⁹Mussner (*Galaterbrief*, 307) aptly states: "Für einen Mann wie Paulus wurde alles zum καιρός, wenn es galt, das Evangelium zu verkündigen."

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND DARWINISM: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONFLICT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY

JOHN D. HANNAH

Clergymen and educators in the previous century generally viewed the Scriptures and scientific theory to be harmonious volumes in the revelation of God. In a century that also viewed science as the receptacle of truth, however, clerics felt compelled to revise their explanations of Scripture in light of the dictates of geology and biology. They assumed correctly that science was ultimately in congruity with special revelation, but seriously erred in assuming that the contemporary interpretations of scientific data were necessarily valid. Accordingly, they adjusted their interpretation of the Scriptures in light of 19th-century science and eventually imposed a theistic developmentalism upon creation. The actions of those clergymen, though explainable when viewed from the assumptions of their century, serve as a warning to all of us that Scripture alone is infallible and the opinions of men must be evaluated at the tribunal of God's Word.

* * *

BEFORE the publication of Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, the marriage of theology and science appeared as a sacred and, hence, an inviolable institution. To the perceptive eye, the subjection of science as the handmaiden, a branch of Natural Theology, was greatly shaken by the Copernican Revolution, but the theological world thought itself secure in the belief that the findings of science could only buttress the hold of religion by sustaining a Paleyan view of nature. The publication of Darwin's *Origin* became the occasion whereby science sought, as Loewenberg has asserted, to be "freed from centuries of bondage

to metaphysics and theology.”¹ That work signaled the attempt of science to gain its freedom from the sphere of subservience to religion and, as subsequent history has demonstrated, to establish its own supremacy in a “period of the decomposition of orthodoxies.”² As Hofstadter stated: “Religion has been forced to share its traditional authority with science, and American thought has been secularized. . . , evolution has been translated into divine purpose, and in the hands of skillful preachers religion enlivened and refreshed by the infusion of an authoritative idea from the field of science.”³

The invasion of science into the sanctuary of religion, or better, the emancipation of the former from the latter, created the greatest effusions of consternation, even outrage, on the part of many religionists as science not only sought to separate from religion but to subjugate religion to science. The history of the conflict of science and religion is the subject of this paper. The history of the religious debate over Darwin's ideas (or at least those ideas accredited to Darwin) have been generally divided into two periods: a stage of probation, 1859–1880, wherein Darwin's ideas were received by men of science, and a stage of acceptance, 1880–1900, wherein his ideas generally prevailed.⁴ The initial period has been further divided into two stages: a period of absolute rejection, 1859–1873, and a period of tentative acceptance, 1873–1880 (the demarcation of the two periods being the death of Louis Agassiz).⁵

This paper seeks to understand the reaction of conservative, Protestant religionists to Darwinian evolution as it is reflected in the religious literature of the era. As a vehicle to facilitate and structure this end, a single religious journal, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, will be surveyed to note its attitudes toward the theories of Darwinism. The use of *Bibliotheca Sacra* as a valid vehicle to discern religious attitudes can readily be justified by its stature as a major spokesman for religious conservatism and by its longevity in that it is “the oldest theological quarterly in America.”⁶ Further, George Frederick Wright noted of it: “It is bound and indexed in all the leading libraries of the world, and hence has become a favorite channel for writers of eminence, who had something important to say to the leaders of thought in all

¹Bert James Loewenberg, “Darwinism Comes to America, 1859–1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 28 (1941) 346.

²Bert James Loewenberg, “The Controversy Over Evolution in New England,” *New England Quarterly* 8 (1935) 23.

³Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon, 1955) 30.

⁴Loewenberg, “Darwinism Comes to America,” 340.

⁵Loewenberg, “The Controversy Over Evolution in New England,” 233.

⁶John Henry Bennetach, “The Biography of *Bibliotheca Sacra*,” *BSac* 100 (1943) 8.

centers of influence."⁷ Further, it is the only theological journal or quarterly to be reproduced in the Encyclopedia Britannica's "Life in American Civilization" series on ultra-microfiche for libraries worldwide.

Bibliotheca Sacra was founded in 1843 by Edward Robinson,⁸ "an eminent philologist and topographer of the Holy Lands,"⁹ during his professorship at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.¹⁰ In 1844 after three short issues in New York the journal passed from Robinson to a trusted friend, Bela Bates Edwards¹¹ at Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts.¹² Edwards continued to direct the journal as its editor for eight years (1844–1851) when, upon his death, Edwards Amasa Park,¹³ a co-editor with Edwards, took over the reins of the work. Park upheld the editorial policies of

⁷George Frederick Wright, *Story of My Life and Work* (Oberlin, OH: Bibliotheca Sacra Company, 1916) 396.

⁸Edward Robinson (1794–1863), a graduate of Hamilton College (1816), was brought by Moses Stuart to Andover Theological Seminary, where he taught Hebrew from 1823 to 1826. After a trip to Europe he returned to Andover (1830–1833), but he resigned due to ill health. In 1837 he was called to Union Theological Seminary. His several trips to the Holy Land brought him recognition as a topographer. Philip Schaff, the noted historian, said of him, "He was thorough and indefatigable in his investigations, skeptical of all monastic legends, reverent to God's revelation" (*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 10:60).

⁹"Editorial," *BSac* 98 (1941) 5.

¹⁰Union Theological Seminary was founded in 1836 as a New School Presbyterian institution. The seminary and the New School party were attempts to broaden theology as evidenced in the famous case of Albert Barnes (Henry Sloane Coffin, *A Half Century of Union Theological Seminary* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954] 5–20).

¹¹Bela Bates Edwards (1802–1852), a graduate of Amherst College (1824) and Andover Theological Seminary (1830), was appointed as professor of Hebrew at Andover in 1837. He resigned from Andover in 1846 because of poor health (*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 4:80).

¹²Andover Theological Seminary was founded in 1808 due to the defection of Harvard College as evidenced in the Hollis Chair of Divinity dispute. Andover, an attempt to preserve Calvinism in New England, unfortunately began in a compromise between Old Calvinists and Hopkinsians. Hopkinsianism of New England Theology, which is contrary at many crucial points to Old Calvinism, was widely taught at Andover (Leonard Woods, *History of Andover Theological Seminary* [Boston: James R. Osgood, 1885] 638).

¹³Edwards Amasa Park (1808–1900), a graduate of Brown University (1826) and Andover Seminary (1831), became professor of sacred rhetoric (1836–1847) and later professor of systematic theology (1847–1881) at Andover. Theologically, Park was a Hopkinsian, denying the Reformed views of original sin and inherent sin. Park's views as well as those of New England Theology in general appeared in *Bibliotheca Sacra* with regularity (Frank Hugh Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology* [New York: Russell & Russell, 1963]; and Park, "The Theology of the Intellect and of the Feelings," *BSac* 7 [1850] 533–69).

Edwards, continuing the journal in the broad evangelical spirit reflective of New England Theology and New School Presbyterianism. He noted:

The present series of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* was commenced in 1844. . . . Among its regular contributors are eminent scholars, connected with various theological and collegiate institutions of the United States. Its pages will be enriched by such contributions from Foreign Missionaries in the East, as may illustrate the Biblical Record; and also by such essays from distinguished naturalists, as may elucidate the agreement between Science and Religion. It is hoped that, hereafter, more space will be devoted than has been given heretofore, to strictly biblical and theological inquiries. Arrangements have been made for securing the most valuable literary intelligence from various parts of Europe, and the most thoughtful reviews of scientific and literary works.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* is not designed for discussions of ephemeral interest, but for those of permanent value. It has inserted many an Article which has cost its author months of toil; and here and there an Article on which more than a year, or even two years, have been expended. Such Articles will not lose their worth with the passing time. The Review aims to give a careful and painstaking explanation of the spirit and genius of different schools, ancient and modern, in ethical philosophy and religion. . . .

As the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is not a partisan Review, its Editors have been, and intend to be, liberal in admitting such Articles as they do not, in all respects, endorse. They are not to be held responsible for any statement which does not appear under their own names.¹⁴

The journal remained at Andover until 1883 when it was purchased by Oberlin College,¹⁵ an institution made famous by Charles Grandison Finney. The new editor of the journal, its fourth, was George Frederick Wright.¹⁶ Wright was introduced to *Bibliotheca Sacra* during his

¹⁴Edwards A. Park, "Prospectus of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*," *BSac* 19 (1862) 1-4.

¹⁵Oberlin College began in 1834 as a Congregational college in Oberlin, Ohio. The roots of the college theologically are to be found in New England Theology, most particularly in Taylorism or New Haven Theology. Oberlin's first president, Asa Mahan, was a graduate of Andover Seminary, and its second president was Charles Grandison Finney, who developed Taylor's thought into Oberlin Theology (James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and the College* [Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1883] 357).

¹⁶George F. Wright (1838-1921) was an eminent geologist and Christian apologist. He graduated from Oberlin College (1859) and Oberlin Theological Seminary (1862) and then distinguished himself for almost twenty years in pastoral ministry. He began teaching at Oberlin in 1881 and held two chairs (New Testament Language and Literature [1881-1892] and Harmony of Science and Revelation [1892-1907]). In 1907 he retired but continued editing *Bibliotheca Sacra* until his death in 1921. He was editor of the journal for thirty-seven years (Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*; or "George Frederick Wright," *BSac* 78 [1921] 251-80).

second pastorate, which was in the Free Church at Andover, and as a teacher at Oberlin College he edited the journal for nearly forty years (1884–1921). Of his relationship to *Bibliotheca Sacra* and the issues of his day, he wrote:

Bibliotheca Sacra, under the editorship of Professor Park, had for thirty years been the main scholarly expounder of the New England theology, and was the representative of the two thousand living Andover graduates scattered all over the world. But the influence of Darwinism, and of the so-called liberalizing tendencies of the time, was pressing for attention, and naturally I was soon drawn into the vortex of discussion, a vortex from which I have not yet emerged.¹⁷

Wright continued the editorial policies of his predecessors, making the journal a spokesman for an American Christianity of a cosmopolitan, though conservative, character.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, EMERGENT SCIENCE AND BELLIGERENT RELIGION (1843–1873)

In the early issues of the journal the compatibility of science and the Bible are assumed; indeed, science formed the volume of natural revelation while the Bible the volume of special revelation. The former was perceived as the basis on which "written revelation rests."¹⁸ The phenomena of the natural world are called upon to sustain such notions as the immortality of the soul¹⁹ and the existence of God predicated on a Paleyan view of First Cause.²⁰ The function of science is clearly that of a supplementary evidence to buttress the teachings of the Bible which was interpreted in a traditional pre-scientific sense.

Religion and the Rise of Geology

Integral to the thesis of Charles Darwin, and the various other forms of developmentalism, is that of boundless ages of time to permit variations in species. The traditional religious notion of a recent history of the globe, the Young Earth Theory of James Ussher, excludes two presuppositions essential to any Darwinian scheme; namely, unlimited time and uniformitarianism. In 1849 the journal printed an article by Cuvier in which the position of *Bibliotheca*

¹⁷Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*, 132.

¹⁸"Natural Theology," *BSac* 3 (1846) 276.

¹⁹George I. Chase, "Of The Natural Proofs of the Immortality of the Soul," *BSac* 6 (1849) 461–71.

²⁰John Jay Dana, "The Claims of the Natural Sciences on the Christian Ministry," *BSac* 6 (1849) 48–75.

Sacra prior to Chambers and Tayler Lewis are made explicit. Cuvier argues both for a recent creation of the earth, "4–5,000 years ago," and a universal deluge which he described as "an epoch relatively not far remote, a grand revolution."²¹ Using Cuvier, conservative New England religionists opposed both unlimited time and Lyell's uniformitarian view of earth history. Geology is again viewed as the handmaiden of religion; it is said to argue for the existence of God through a Paleyan rubric "more conclusively than from any other science."²²

However, by the mid-1850's *Bibliotheca Sacra* articles began to evidence the impact of uniformitarianism, as certain aspects of astronomy (i.e., the argument from the speed of light) and geology (i.e., the strata of rock formations and the fossil record) suggested a much older earth. One clergyman confided: "Moses seems to assign a comparatively brief period to the creation; astronomy and geology assert a vast period. How shall they be reconciled?"²³ Mears postulated three theories to explain the compatibility of geology and Scripture: a Gap Theory in Genesis 1 of indefinite time followed by a divine creation (or re-formation) in six twenty-four hour consecutive periods, a Day-Age-Day Theory of indefinite periods between twenty-four hour creative periods, and a Day-Age theory of indefinite periods. He opted for the third view, thus conceding an important bulwark of traditional religion, limited time.²⁴ "We cannot bring the period of geologic changes within six or eight thousand years assumed as taught by Moses. . . . If the Mosaic record is, as we believe, reliable, it must admit an interpretation which will give the period the facts demanded."²⁵ Thus Mears in a subsequent article asserted that while the geological record provides no evidence of the mutability of species, "the globe (was) not created at once (but) underwent a gradual development."²⁶ Even James Dana, an ardent opponent of biological development, found Cuvier's "Young Earth Theory" unacceptable and accepted a Day-Age Theory by which he conceded

²¹M. Cuvier, "The Deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion," *BSac* 6 (1849) 75. Conservative religionists perhaps misinterpret Cuvier at this point in that he argued that the earth, as it presently appears, was of recent origin; he was a Catastrophist. Since the early religious opinion of *BSac* understood the creation to be the first and only (ex nihilo) one, not the last in a series, there must have been a misinterpretation of Cuvier.

²²John Jay Dana, "The Religion of Geology," *BSac* 10 (1853) 509.

²³John O. Mears, "The Narrative of the Creation in Genesis, Part I," *BSac* 12 (1855) 105.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 117.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 112.

²⁶John O. Mears, "The Narrative of the Creation in Genesis, Part II," *BSac* 12 (1855) 333.

two important presuppositions: boundless time and uniformitarianism.²⁷ Scientific theory was clearly beginning to shape the interpretation of Scripture among the New England clergy. Weisberger stated: "Long before organic evolution had challenged the thought and faith of educated men, the New Geology had raised obstacles to a literal acceptance of the Biblical account of a Special Creation."²⁸

The acceptance of the New Geology among the clergy of New England, which necessitated a reinterpretation of the Genesis account, appears to have been consummated with no opposition. The reason for this harmonious reception was undoubtedly the result of the influence of Benjamin Silliman of Yale College, for it was at Yale, not Harvard, that this generation of clergy with attachment to the views of *Bibliotheca Sacra* were trained. Under the deeply religious Silliman, Yale College by 1820 had become the leading center in the country for the study of chemistry, geology and mineralogy.²⁹ He carried his lectures on geology to the public in 1831 and met with popular acclaim throughout the nation.³⁰ His lectures have been described as "lay sermons" wherein he perceived natural phenomena as manifesting "the wisdom and goodness and the boundless providence of God."³¹ In 1829 he felt able to assert that the facts of science and the Genesis account were strictly compatible, yet a decade later he would only assert that the correspondence between the paleontological record and the events in Genesis were only approximate. Seeking to maintain a traditional religious commitment and the integrity of geology, he reinterpreted the Genesis account by allowing for unlimited time. As Greene notes: "By interpreting the biblical word 'day' to mean a period of indefinite length, one could provide the necessary amount of time within the scriptural framework."³² He not only trained a generation of clergymen that science was the collaborator of the Scriptures in that it witnessed to the person of the master-designer, but he was also able to allay religious opposition to science among the learned laity. Upon Silliman's retirement, he was succeeded by his former student and son-in-law, James Dwight Dana, as

²⁷James D. Dana, "Science and the Bible," *BSac* 13 (1856) 119.

²⁸Francis P. Weisenberger, *Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959) 55-56.

²⁹"Benjamin Silliman," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 12: 433.

³⁰Margaret W. Rossitor, "Benjamin Silliman and the Lowell Institute: The Popularity of Science in the Nineteenth-Century America," *New England Quarterly* 44 (1971) 613.

³¹Leonard G. Wilson, "Benjamin Silliman: A Biographical Sketch," in *Benjamin Silliman and His Circle: Studies on the Influence of Benjamin Silliman on Science in America*, ed. Leonard G. Wilson (New York: Science History Publications, 1979) 8.

³²John C. Greene, "Protestantism, Science and American Enterprise: Benjamin Silliman's Moral Universe" in *Benjamin Silliman*, 16.

professor of geology and mineralogy. Dana assumed from his mentor an old-earth theory, a theory Silliman discovered made science and the Bible compatible; both men, however, rejected any theory of the mutability of species (the third presupposition of Developmentalism).

Religion and Developmentalism

The earliest statements in *Bibliotheca Sacra* concerning the place of mankind in the earth came in reaction to Louis Agassiz and the publication of Chambers' *Vestiges of the History of Natural Creation* through the publicity afforded by the subsequent debates at the Lowell Institute. In response to Agassiz's theory of the multiple creation of species by providence, a polygenism, the journal responded with a firm rebuttal and the affirmation of the creation of the race through one man, the biblical Adam.³³ In response to the *Vestiges*, the journal asserted that the "development hypothesis" was "tantamount to Atheism" because it denied the immortality of the soul and rendered the atonement of Christ unimportant.³⁴ Such was the initial reception of Developmentalism; however, when the same position was hypothesized by a fellow clergyman, it required a wider review and rebuttal in the pages of *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

Religion, Developmentalism, and James D. Dana

In 1855 Tayler Lewis, a distinguished congregationalist and professor of Greek at Union College, published *The Six Days of Creation* and the following year, *The Bible and Science or the World Problem*.³⁵ In response to Lewis, Dana wrote a series of articles denouncing the theory of Developmentalism, that is, that man's body is derived from other animals but was infused with a soul. These articles are instructive of the relationship of the New England clergy to the theory of Developmentalism at the time of Darwin's *magnum opus*, *Origin of Species*.

Dana, as previously noted, was Benjamin Silliman's greatest pupil,³⁶ successor, and son-in-law. Like his teacher who "slowly retreated in the late 1830's from a belief in the actual occurrence of the Mosaic Flood to a catastrophist view of the rate of geological change,"³⁷ Dana adhered to the Day-Age theory of Genesis and triumphed the complete compatibility of science and the Scriptures. He

³³"Review of John Bachman's *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race*," *BSac* 9 (1852) 427.

³⁴John Jay Dana, "The Religion of Geology," *BSac* 10 (1853) 510–11.

³⁵"Tayler Lewis," *American Dictionary of Biography*, 6: 224.

³⁶Margaret W. Rossiter, "A Portrait of James Dwight Dana" in *Benjamin Silliman*, 105.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 116.

argued that Lewis derived his views directly from Robert Chambers' *Vestiges* and, therefore, taught the nebular hypothesis of the beginning of the universe, spontaneous generation, and the non-fixity of species, instead of creation being *ex nihilo* and the Genesis account being a description of the arranging of energy, "the dead force of cohesion."³⁸ According to Lewis, man was derived from a lower species which God caused to stand erect and then infused with a soul.³⁹

Dana's position emerges quite clearly. He rejected as completely unscientific the notions of a nebular theory or spontaneous generation because, he says, "physical force could not, by any metamorphoses or genesis, give rise to life."⁴⁰ He further wrote: "Our conclusion therefore is, that Nature, self-existent and self-propagating, now and then requiring a jog from the supernatural, may be an interesting myth, but cannot rise to the same point of view with Biblical truth or sound philosophy."⁴¹ Obviously Dana denied the mutability of species and called geology as his primary witness, arguing, "species have not been made out of species by any process of growth or development for the transitional forms do not occur. . . . 'Original divine power' did not create a generic or universal germ from which all genera and species developed."⁴² Again, "Science has no evidence that any living species have been created since the appearance of man on the globe. All facts in nature accord with the Scripture record, that man was the last of the grand series."⁴³

Tayler Lewis responded in the next issue of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, claiming the "radical injustice" of Dana's criticism; his perception was that he was being accused of naturalism for teaching the *Vestiges*, propagating infidel philosophy and being ignorant of Scripture.⁴⁴ He asserted for the learned clerical readership that "there is nothing monstrous or incredible in the idea that the human body might have been a growth through natural laws and processes originated by God and quickened by him to higher developments."⁴⁵ Dana replied in the same issue that he had not misinterpreted Lewis and would, therefore, not soften his criticism.⁴⁶ Three additional articles reiterating his rebuff of Lewis' views were printed in *Bibliotheca Sacra* the following year. The verdict by the learned professor was the same: Science

³⁸James D. Dana, "Science and the Bible," *BSac* 13 (1856) 94.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 98.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 100.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 103.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 122.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 128.

⁴⁴Tayler Lewis, "Letter," *BSac* 13 (1856) 471.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

⁴⁶James D. Dana, "Science and the Bible," *BSac* 13 (1856) 646.

proves the truth-claims of the Bible as traditionally interpreted (i.e., "geology proved the development theory false"⁴⁷). He wrote: "Geology had found no transitional forms; and, moreover, had proved that, many a time, the thread of life had been cut by sweeping catastrophes, each one enough to blast the hopes of nomad-planters; and coupling these facts with the principle from zoology, that in all reproductions, it is *like from like*, the theory was shown to be without foundation."⁴⁸ His conclusion is clear: "Geology and zoology are utterly opposed to the *Vestiges*."⁴⁹ In another article Dana renounced both Agassiz and Lewis by asserting variations within species but not their mutability in that the race originated from a single parent within a single locale.⁵⁰

Religion and Developmentalism after Dana

By no means did *Bibliotheca Sacra* cease to participate in the evolutionary debate after Dana's rebuff of Tayler Lewis; indeed, articles appeared with frequency defending the position held by Dana as a spokesman of New England Congregationalism. Another reply to Lewis' book was that of E. P. Barrow who questioned the author's liberty to translate the Hebrew term *בְּרָא* as meaning "to create or fashion already existing matter."⁵¹

Repeatedly, the evidence of the geological record is used to refute the various varieties of developmentalism; namely, Lamarck's, Chambers', or Darwin's. In 1864, Chadbourne wrote "We have not yet seen any strong argument made out, nor do we believe that geology has yet given one whisper of satisfactory testimony in favor of the development theory."⁵² His position, and that of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, is abundantly clear when he wrote, "We accept the science of Darwin but not his philosophy."⁵³ By this statement it was perceived that Darwin had departed from the scientific method by erecting a hypothesis without a sufficient base; his theory was simply deductive, not inductive. "It is they, and not we, who have abandoned the inductive method. Mr. Darwin, whom they quote as their chief apostle, is notoriously imaginative as to his data, and hypothetical in his reasonings. No medieval scholastic, or disciple of the *a priori*

⁴⁷James D. Dana, "Science and the Bible," *BSac* 14 (1857) 516.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰James D. Dana, "Thoughts on Species," *BSac* 14 (1857) 854-74.

⁵¹E. P. Barrow, "The Mosaic Narrative of the Creation Considered Grammatically and in its Relation to Science," *BSac* 13 (1856) 746.

⁵²P. A. Chadbourne, "Final Cause of Varieties," *BSac* 21 (1864) 361.

⁵³*Ibid.*

school of philosophy, has ever shown more ingenuity in guessing at convenient premises," said Manning.⁵⁴

In the late 1860s and early 1870s the strident reaction to Developmentalism, now focused in Charles Darwin, continued in its intensity with no sign of abatement. The pages of the journal continue to suggest that geology is a bulwark against the theory of evolution ("most geological facts are pitted against it"⁵⁵) and a proof for the existence of God. The geological record, according to the clergyman of New England, simply does not provide evidence of the transitional links between species. Hitchcock notes of man, for example: "He appears suddenly upon the arena with nothing to connect him physically or mentally with previously existing animals. . . . geology assuredly does not reveal any such finely graduated organic chain."⁵⁶

The last article that sought to maintain the incompatibility of developmentalism and Christianity to appear in the journal was written in 1872. This article, simply entitled "Darwinism," evidenced the continuing hostility of the journal to evolutionism but it did summarize the major arguments against it. Gardener's position is simply that Darwin's theory is predicated on a series of logical fallacies and that the geological record opposes it. Of the latter point he simply repeats the substance of previous articles: "The geological evidence, therefore, remains upon the face of it distinctly contradictory to Darwinism, and the task of the advocates of that theory is simply to explain away its force."⁵⁷ Of the former "error" of Darwinism he writes: "One of the most common as well as curious, of what appear to the unscientific mind as Darwin's fallacies, consists in first stating such facts as he can obtain, but which make the slenderest possible basis for the super-structure to be reared upon them, and then, further on, referring to this as a settled point already proved."⁵⁸

Thus, the response of *Bibliotheca Sacra* from the inception of the developmentalist debate with the reaction to Chambers' publication of the *Vestiges*, Dana's response to Lewis' *Six Days of Creation*, and the later response in the early 1870s as the issue focused forcibly in the thought of Darwin, was one of rejection and hostility. Developmentalism was not only viewed as a threat to religion, but a denial of transcendence; it was viewed as a travesty of not only sound reason, but a violation of the facts of science. It was an imaginative medley of vaguely connected, though distorted, facts used to create a system

⁵⁴J. M. Manning, "The Denial of the Supernatural," *BSac* 20 (1867) 264.

⁵⁵C. H. Hitchcock, "The Relations of Geology to Science," *BSac* 24 (1867) 370.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 369-70.

⁵⁷Frederick Gardener, "Darwinism," *BSac* 29 (1872) 265.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 272.

that deprecated man, denied God, and possessed no place for enlightened moral reason. Perhaps Hitchcock most clearly expressed the hostility of the New England clergymen when he wrote in 1867: "Hence we say to the development school, go on with your investigations, and if you succeed in establishing your principles we will use your theory for illustrating the argument for the existence of God."⁵⁹

*BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, TRIUMPHANT SCIENCE AND
RELIGIOUS ADAPTATION (1873-1880)*

In the same year that Frederick Gardener wrote the article entitled "Darwinism," an article appeared by George Frederick Wright that signaled important changes in the attitude of the journal toward Developmentalism. Wright, the clergyman, and Asa Gray, the Harvard botanist, were to form an effective alliance. Both men were theists and both Darwinists; that is, they argued that developmentalism did not stand against Christianity, because evolution provides proof for God's existence through design; it is not inimical to the Paleyan argument when understood correctly. It was Wright's pioneering labors, both in writing and in gaining a hearing for Gray among his fellow clergymen, that caused Christianity and evolution to be increasingly viewed as compatible.

Of the crucial importance of these two men in breaking down religious hostility to evolutionistic science by showing their essential unity, Moore writes: "Christian Darwinism in America was as much the special creation of George Frederick Wright (1838-1921) as of Asa Gray."⁶⁰ Elsewhere he writes: "Like Father and son—twenty-eight years separated them—Gray and Wright formed a partnership which owed its success to their kindred spirit. No two Christian men on either side of the Atlantic were more determined to advance the cause of Darwinism."⁶¹ The importance of Wright in gaining a reception for Darwinism among the conservative clergy is captured by Loewenberg when he writes: "By reason of his church affiliations, Wright was able to carry Gray's version of Darwin's message to the innermost precincts of orthodoxy from which Gray, by reason of his notoriety as a champion of Darwinism, was sometimes barred. Wright, despite his scientific avocation, was much more orthodox than Gray and was encouraged to go to greater lengths by the latter's substantial theism."⁶²

⁵⁹Hitchcock, "The Relations of Geology to Science," 371.

⁶⁰James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1979) 280.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 283.

⁶²Bert James Loewenberg, "American Science and Darwinism," *American Historical Review* 38 (1933) 698.

George F. Wright, A Christian Darwinist (1838–1921)

Wright was the son of a New York farmer (“a profound thinker on theological and philosophical subjects”⁶³) of Puritan piety and an advocate, like Asa Gray, of New School Presbyterian-Congregational sympathies. While evidencing both an academic bent and an early interest in geology after reading John C. Fremont’s *Report* concerning the west before he was twelve,⁶⁴ he left the farm to be trained for the ministry at Oberlin College and Oberlin Theological Seminary in Ohio. After his formal training, his first pastorate in Bakersfield, Vermont (1862–1872) found him immersed in reading and study. While at Bakersfield he translated Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason*, read Plato’s *Dialogues*, and carefully assessed Lyell’s *Antiquity of Man* and Darwin’s *Origin of Species*.⁶⁵ As a result of his extra-pastoral pursuits he wrote, “Ground of Confidence in Inductive Reasoning,” which was published in the *New Englander* attracting the favorable attention of Noah Porter, president of Yale, and Asa Gray of Harvard. Further, he studied the geology of his region and became an authority on glaciers in Vermont (“doubtless he was the only minister anywhere who found the time, while engaged in such pursuits, to become an authority on the glacial geology of his region”⁶⁶).

In 1872, Wright accepted the pastorate of the Free Church in Andover, Massachusetts, where he not only entered a fertile field for geologic discussion, but also entered the debate over Darwinism. He wrote: “On coming to Andover the influence of Darwinism, and of the so-called liberalizing tendencies of the time, was pressing for attention and naturally I was soon drawn into the vortex of discussion, a vortex from which I have not yet emerged.”⁶⁷ It is apparent that from his initial interest in geology and his reading of Lyell and Darwin that he entered the Andover pastorate as a Darwinist; while at Andover he became “the foremost early champion of Christian Darwinist theology.”⁶⁸

From the Andover pastorate, he entered the teaching profession as professor of New Testament Language and Literature (1881–1892) and as professor of the department of Harmony of Science and Bible (1892–1907) at Oberlin College, his alma mater. From his lectern and through the printed page, Wright continued to be a leading Christian Darwinian proponent among the Protestant clergy. Further, in 1883

⁶³Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*, 42.

⁶⁴Charles Coulston Gillespie, “George Frederick Wright,” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 15: 516.

⁶⁵Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*, 116.

⁶⁶Moore, *Post-Darwinian Controversies*, 281.

⁶⁷Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*, 132.

⁶⁸Gillespie, “George Frederick Wright,” 516.

Bibliotheca Sacra was sold by Andover Theological Seminary to Oberlin College and Wright became the editor of the prominent journal. One writer has stated: "His most significant service along theological lines was as editor of *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Under Wright the journal was for nearly forty years one of the most respected mediums of expression for the more scholarly conservative thought of the Church."⁶⁹ For Wright this meant the demonstration of the compatibility of Darwinian science with the data of Biblical creationism. It was to a large extent the labor of Wright, although McCosh at Princeton, Henry Ward Beecher and a host of other clerics should be named, that Hofstadter is able to make the following statement: "By the 1880's, the lines of argument that would be taken in the reconciliation of science and religion had become clear. Religion has been forced to share its traditional authority with science. . . , evolution had been translated to divine purpose, and in the hands of skillful preachers religion was enlivened and refreshed by the infusion of an authoritative idea from the field of science."⁷⁰

Bibliotheca Sacra: An Adaptation of Science through Wright

Through a series of articles by Wright in the 1870s the strident editorial hostility so evident through Dana's articles was greatly modified; that is, Wright was able to demonstrate that Darwinism did not destroy the argument from design for the existence of a creator and thus was able to construct a synthesis of the two realms of knowledge commonly designated as Christian or Theistic Evolution. This was accomplished by arguing that God's creative act was to be understood as the superintendence of a divinely erected process, not as instantaneously created, but the providential direction of a long involvement in time. The solution was to perceive God deistically in the creative process.

It is clear that Wright sought to argue that science (i.e., geology) not only fits into a biblical creation but it also agrees with Calvinism; that is, the virtue of true Calvinism is that it accorded harmoniously with the testimony of both Scripture and science. In his initial article he argued that geology mitigated against a strict traditional interpretation of the Genesis account of creation and rather for a Day-Age Theory of the age of the earth and man ("accumulating evidence . . . that of lengthening the antiquity of man").⁷¹ His non-traditional view of the Scriptures, by which he seeks to bring the creation account into

⁶⁹"George Frederick Wright," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10: 551.

⁷⁰Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 30.

⁷¹George Frederick Wright, "Recent Works on Prehistoric Archeology," *BSac* 30 (1873) 382.

agreement with geology, is of major importance in his quest to demonstrate compatibility.

It is a principle which we should keep more prominently in view than we do, that the integrity of the divine revelation should not be made to depend upon the interpretation of a few isolated and doubtful passages. The integrity of the Bible depends only upon the truth of those doctrines and interpretations which are woven into the very woof and warp of the book. The genealogies of Scripture sustain no such relation of importance to the book itself.⁷²

The advantage of the greater antiquity of man for Calvinist theologians, says Wright, is that it argues for the solidarity and unity of the race. "The older the human family can be proved to be, the more possible and probable it is that it has descended from a single pair."⁷³

Beginning in 1875 Wright published a series of five articles entitled "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion" in which he argued the compatibility of Darwin and the Bible; this marked a distinct change from Dana's articles in the 1850s. One biographer suggests that he was asked to write them because of his advocacy of Evolution by the editor Edwards Amasa Park.⁷⁴ The initial article argued that the chance of randomness of the Darwinian scheme is only apparent ("probably wholly belongs to the mind"⁷⁵) and therefore Darwinism is not antithetical to religion. A Christian can confidently advocate Darwinism because he can recognize in the random variation the providence of God ("there is no such thing as chance in the phenomena of nature"⁷⁶).

The second article in the series attempted to explain the mechanics of Darwinism and defend them scientifically. *First*, he took up the question of the mutability of species by posing this question: "Is there such degree of plasticity in species that the orbit of one may break into that of another?"⁷⁷ He argues that the geological record demonstrates a progression from simplistic to complex forms and that there are transitional links between species, such as Marsh's discovery of gradated fossil horses. "Through the discovery of connecting links, and fresh investigation of facts bearing upon distribution, gradation, and variability of species, much presumptive proof of

⁷²Ibid., 383.

⁷³Ibid., 384.

⁷⁴"George Frederick Wright," *BSac* 78 (1921) 255.

⁷⁵George Frederick Wright, "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion," *BSac* 32 (1875) 554.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷George Frederick Wright, "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion," *BSac* 33 (1876) 482.

the evolution of species has accumulated."⁷⁸ *Second*, Wright attempts to explicate the mechanics of variation. He takes Lamarck's emphasis on acquired characteristics due to environmental conditioning and combines it with Darwin's theory of natural selection predicated upon the Malthusian principle, relegating both to secondary causation.⁷⁹ Since he presumed that "the tendency to variation has its origin in a cause that is mysterious,"⁸⁰ he argued that the final cause of mutation is the Creator's use of means. Thus, religion and Darwinism are quite harmonious.

The third article in the series argues that Darwin's uncertainty about the mechanism of variations allows for theism; indeed, this is Wright's primary argument for a Christian Darwinism. Speaking of the mechanism of variations he writes, "The many complex contingencies which pertain to the theory in question afford theologians opportunities of wheeling it into line with a true theistic view of nature."⁸¹ In brief, Wright's argument is that the inscrutability of the cause of variation assures the religionist a place in Darwin's scheme and a claim to scientific respectability. "It will appear, we think, that so elastic a principle as natural selection, as Darwin defines it, cannot be particularly dangerous to theism";⁸² "the 'mystery of creation' is so great and as much beyond the domain of science as ever."⁸³ His conclusion is that "there is no more reason now than at any previous time why the scientific 'Leopard' and the theological 'kid' should not lie down together."⁸⁴

In the 1877 article Wright argues that Darwinism presupposes Paleyanism; that is, the principle of progress over millions of years presupposes a Creator. The orderliness and forward progression of species cannot be the result of chance, but a Creator. "The Darwinian supposition is, that life has been so adjusted to changing conditions of the material forces of the world, that for a period of one hundred million years, more or less, it has been continuous. That surely makes a demand for a Contrivor who is omniscient as well as omnipotent."⁸⁵

The 1880 article which argues the compatibility between Darwinism and Calvinism is, perhaps, a classic statement of his view; it is a recurrent conviction of Wright's that Calvinistic theology and

⁷⁸Ibid., 493.

⁷⁹Ibid., 484-89.

⁸⁰Ibid., 484.

⁸¹George Frederick Wright, "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion," *BSac* 33 (1876) 676.

⁸²Ibid., 686.

⁸³Ibid., 688.

⁸⁴Ibid., 693.

⁸⁵George Frederick Wright, "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion," *BSac* 34 (1877) 365.

Darwinism are harmonious. *First*, he cites the fact that neither Calvinism nor Darwinism teaches a theory of invariable and progressive development.⁸⁶ He argues that the degradation and extinction of species is analogous to the Adamic fall in that the results were negative. *Second*, Darwinism and Calvinism agree that mankind is genetically one. Here Darwinism illustrates the Calvinistic doctrines of the solidarity of the race and the transmission of the sin nature. He says, for example, "The Calvinistic doctrine of the spread of sin from Adam to his descendants has also its illustrative analogies in the Darwinian doctrine of heredity."⁸⁷ The mystery of heredity in science is compatible with the teaching that the soul is propagated by natural generation. Schneider is quite correct when he states: "Wright regarded Darwin's account of the origin of the human body as analogous to the traducian theory among the Calvinists, which accounted for the origin of an individual soul."⁸⁸

Third, the Calvinists' difficulty in rationalizing the doctrines of foreordination and free-will are strikingly similar to the perplexity of the Darwinist in stating the consistency of his system with the existence of design in nature. Both systems are similar in that certain particulars are not explainable with our current level of knowledge; therefore, the systems must be viewed holistically.⁸⁹ *Fourth*, Darwinism and Calvinism are alike in the limits they assign to speculative reason; each is proved insofar as it explains or coordinates complicated phenomena which otherwise are confused (the one the phenomena of organic nature, the other the phenomena of Scripture and human nature). Both are protests against *a priori* methods. *Fifth*, both agree on the fundamental principle of the sovereign rule of law throughout nature. "Under both representations of the actions of the Creator law reigns supreme, and the main reliance for the dissemination of the divine influence is upon what is called natural means."⁹⁰ Wright's conclusion to the article needs little comment: "If Darwinism appears to banish design from nature, and to be fatalistic, it is only because it is liable to the same class of misunderstandings against which Calvinism has had so constantly to contend. . . . We may conclude that, not improperly, Darwinism has been styled 'the Calvinistic interpretation of nature.'"⁹¹

⁸⁶George Frederick Wright, "Recent Books Upon the Relation of Science to Religion," *BSac* 37 (1880) 54.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁸Herbert W. Schneider, "The Influence of Darwin and Spencer on American Philosophical Theology," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945) 9.

⁸⁹Wright, "Recent Books," *BSac* 37 (1880) 62-63.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 74.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 76.

Science, Christian Darwinism, and the Late 19th Century

The history of the religious attitude toward Darwinism, as it is reflected in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, can be demarcated by two articles dealing with the theory of Developmentalism. Frederick Gardener's article in 1873, while much in the vein of Dana's early writings, signaled the end of the journal's belligerence to Darwinian science. In the same year George Wright's first article appeared, and by the 1880 article the author not only advocated the deepest of sympathies between religion and science, but argued that Darwinism and Calvinism were most compatible. The attitude of the journal toward Darwinism had changed radically since the Dana series, an attitude only confirmed and perpetuated when *Bibliotheca Sacra* was sold to Oberlin College and George Wright became its editor.

George Wright's editorship of the journal continued its scholarly course set by its previous editors: Robinson, Edwards and Park. While the journal remained in the Christian-Darwinist tradition, Wright's emphasis changed. He became less concerned to commend modern science to believers in revealed theology as he was to defend revealed theology from the advocates of Liberal Theology. His adherence to Christian Darwinism continued as reflected in his own creed. He believed that God created the elements from which the earth evolved under his superintendence ("I believe that, in the beginning, God created the elements out of which have evolved, under his direction, the heavens and the earth"⁹²); that after geologic ages of the evolvement of matter the principle of life came into the world as a new creation; that life on earth evolved from simplicity to complexity ("there was an orderly progress from lower to higher forms"⁹³) and that man's organic connection to some unknown species of anthropoid apes is probable and only explicable in direct superintendence of providence. He writes of the connection between the lowly apes when compared to sophisticated man: "Such complicated accidental combinations are inconceivable. They can occur only as the product of design, which is equivalent to creation."⁹⁴

To conclude the story of the acceptance of Darwinism in American conservative Protestantism, it is necessary to return to James Dwight Dana, the antagonist of Developmentalism in the late 1850s series in *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Dana felt constrained by the documentation in the *Origin of Species* to modify his views. In 1874, the Yale professor revised his *Manual of Geology* "in which, he too, after a prolonged attempt to resist natural selection at last granted his

⁹²Wright, *Story of My Life and Work*, 420.

⁹³Ibid., 421.

⁹⁴Ibid., 423.

endorsement."⁹⁵ By 1883, his views had changed to the point that he granted the validity of most of the tenets of Darwinism although he still maintained that Darwin had not explained the origin of species and that there were still discrepancies and gaps in the geological record.⁹⁶

The particular form of Darwinism for Dana was that of Alfred Wallace's; as to the mechanism of variation he accepted both the Lamarckian emphasis on acquired characteristics through environmental conditioning and natural selection. However, he exempted man by explaining his emergence through direct, not secondary, causation ("the intervention of a Power above Nature was at the basis of Man's development"⁹⁷). A summary of his position appeared in an obituary in 1895: "Professor Dana never fully accepted the Darwinian theory of development, though his views were so much modified that he is to be classed among the evolutionists who minimize the influence of natural selection, and give prominence to the theistic element."⁹⁸ The complete merger of his Christian faith with Darwinism is clearly evident in a letter to John G. Hall on March 7, 1889: "While admitting the derivation of man from an inferior species, I believe that there was a Divine creative act at the origin of man; that the event was truly a creation as if it had been from earth or inorganic matter to man. I find nothing in the belief to impair or disturb religious faith; that is, faith in Christ as the source of all hope for time and eternity."⁹⁹

The intellectual struggles with Darwinism led many, like Dana, from initial rejection to an appreciation and adherence to those doctrines in a modified way some decades later. The story of that transition from an immediate to a mediate view of divine activity in creation has been summarized as follows:

A member of the first generation of American specialists in science, a generation that contributed much toward making a profession of Science, Dana also belonged to the first generation caught up in the warfare between science and revealed religion. Committed to both, he strove to retain a footing in two worlds inexorably drifting apart. But the rest of his life was a progressive surrender to Darwinism, although he continued to insist on those few occasions for supernatural intervention, particularly in the evolution of man, and curiously . . . his

⁹⁵Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 18.

⁹⁶"James Dwight Dana," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 3: 540.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 542.

⁹⁸"James D. Dana," *BSac* 52 (1895) 558.

⁹⁹Quoted in Daniel C. Gilman, *The Life of James Dwight Dana* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899) 188.

acceptance of social Darwinism that was becoming fashionable in the closing years of his life was a good deal more prompt.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

Nineteenth-century Protestant Christianity in America was forced to rethink and recast its interpretation of the Bible to bring it into conformity with the findings of science. Perceiving that natural revelation and special revelation were similar volumes of knowledge (one of the world below, the other the world above) that could not conflict without deepest destructive ramifications in metaphysics and epistemology, clergymen sought to assure their harmony. Adjustments to science were possible only if the argument for design remained a bulwark in the defense of theism. It seems that these 19th-century clergymen strove to prevent cleavage and contradiction between the two volumes of knowledge, and their basic hermeneutic was this: does the adoption of the assertions of science allow for a grand Designer? To find such a place for God, the New England clergyman removed God from direct activity in the creation through intervention and miracle to the sphere of directing a concatenation of secondary causes through providence; God became more transcendent and distant than immanent and personally, directly involved in the cosmos.

The change in the religious community relative to their perception of God's dealings in the world and the interpretation of the Genesis account was gradual, yet quite evident. Religious adaptation was predicated upon the valuable insight of several key figures; that is, men of scientific respectability and dominance with traditional religious beliefs and piety and a conviction that the new findings of science were a defense against atheism. Some of these prominent scholars were Benjamin Silliman of Yale, James D. Dana, his successor, Asa Gray of Harvard, and George Frederick Wright of Oberlin. This is apparent as Wright states in reviewing a new publication by Gray.

As the author remarked of Professor Silliman that it was quite as much his transparent character as his scientific ability which, forty years ago, induced orthodox Christianity and geology to lie down together, so we may say with respect to the present crisis, that the unshaken Christian faith of such eminent scientific men as the late Professor Henry, Professor Dana, and our author is a most efficient agency in allaying the apprehensions of the Christian public; while their ability is a most powerful inspiration and defense to the younger class of naturalists who would retain both their Christian faith and their scientific enthusiasm.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰“James Dwight Dana,” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 3: 553.

¹⁰¹George Frederick Wright, “Natural Science and Religion by Asa Gray: A Review,” *BSac* 38 (1880) 390–93.

With the initial volumes of *Bibliotheca Sacra* the impact of geology precipitated a slight reinterpretation of the Genesis account from a Young-Earth Theory to a considerably older earth. It would appear that the New England clergy held to an original creation of matter, a gap of considerable time and then a reconstruction in its present form in twenty-four hour days; it appears that they accepted Cuvier's Catastrophism with modifications that indicate that they only accepted part of his theory and rejected or did not understand the other assumptions in it. However, Genesis was retained as traditionally interpreted except for the possibility of unlimited time.

In the Dana debate with Chambers and Lewis, the Day-Age Theory was assumed, granting Lyell's Uniformitarianism. Dana's objection to Developmentalism in the 1850s was his rejection of the mutability of species. Wright not only saw the virtue of the mutability of species in the 1870s but argued that a Developmental Theory accorded with the argument from design generally and Calvinism particularly. The apparent weight of mounting evidence, plus the defense of the compatibility of the two volumes of knowledge, eventually eroded resistance so that even Dana conceded. His concession was to the very position he violently attacked in the pages of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, that of Chambers and Lewis, some twenty years earlier. It was a qualified adoption as Sanford writes: "For Dana evolution in no way denied or obscured God's purpose. He failed to see any chance in mutation. Evolution in the organic world was simply God's method of creation."¹⁰² The theory of creation changed categorically from 1856 to 1880 for these clergymen, as did the place of the Genesis account in religious orthodoxy. While it was accepted in the 1840s as describing six consecutive twenty-four hour days of creation, by the 1850s it was viewed as explicative of origins but within a Day-Age mode. By the 1870s, however, the Genesis account was perceived as truth but not a delineation of central creation truth. Hopkins says of the Genesis account: "If this has any claim to credence, it cannot be a history of cosmogony. The creation which it designates must have been some other and some minor creation."¹⁰³ Reinterpretation of traditional cosmology because of claimed advances in science makes it evident to the observer in the 20th century that uniformitarian and evolutionary science not only asserted its freedom from special divine revelation but triumphed over it in the hearts of many.

The story presented in the pages of *Bibliotheca Sacra* reveals many of the religious assumptions of the Congregational clergy in the

¹⁰²William F. Sanford, Jr., "Dana and Darwinism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26 (1965) 546.

¹⁰³Samuel Hopkins, "An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis I and II," *BSac* 33 (1876) 739.

19th century. The natural world and the biblical record were viewed as harmonious volumes of God's disclosure to his rational creatures; both volumes testified to the existence of God and Christian truth. Seeking to maintain the unified testimony of God to truth, clergymen and educators adjusted their perception of the teaching of Scripture on creation so much that traditional doctrines such as a young earth and immediate divine creation were replaced by an old earth theory and mediate creation.

The error of that century of clergyman was not that science and Scripture are contradictory, but that the 19th-century form of scientific theory (i.e., developmentalism) was as infallible as Scripture. It warns us that, however impressive are the theories of our brilliant men of science, Scripture, not the former, is forever true. Providentially, in our half of the 20th century, evolutionary scientism has come under attack as often unscientific and its claims to ultimate objectivity are now questioned.¹⁰⁴ But in the previous century science appeared to speak with the inerrancy that we accord to Scripture alone. It behooves us to remember to be cautious not to neglect the exegesis of Scripture and the qualitative gulf between special and general revelation.

¹⁰⁴Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970).

THE SEMANTIC RANGE OF THE ARTICLE-NOUN-KAI'-NOUN PLURAL CONSTRUCTION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

DANIEL B. WALLACE

In this article the author seeks to demonstrate that the syntax of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction has been largely misunderstood. It does not fit the Granville Sharp rule because the nouns are plural. Nor is its semantic range shut up to absolute distinction or absolute identity. After an exhaustive treatment of the construction in the NT, it is affirmed that there are three other semantic possibilities. A proper semantic grid helps in seeing possibilities in certain passages which have hitherto gone unnoticed and in omitting certain options (e.g., that "pastors" = "teachers" in Eph 4:11) which have been assumed true.

* * *

IN Eph 4:11 the apostle Paul tells his audience that the glorified Messiah has bestowed on the church gifted men. These men are described as "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers." The construction in Greek is τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς, τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους. Expositors have long noted that there is no article preceding διδασκάλους, which has raised the question: are the teachers to be identified with the pastors or are pastors and teachers two distinct groups? Grammatically speaking the question is: does the article before ποιμένας govern both ποιμένας and διδασκάλους and if so, in what way (i.e., does it unite them loosely, make them identical, etc.)? Expositors have come down on both sides of the fence, though few have *seriously* investigated the syntax of the construction as a major key to the solution.¹ This

¹ Among the modern commentators, almost all are agreed that one group is seen in this construction (but cf. G. H. P. Thompson, *The Letters of Paul to the Ephesians, to the Colossians and to Philemon* [CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1969], 69; and C. J. Ellicott, *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1885], 94. Thompson simply asserts that

passage is perhaps the best known text in the NT which involves the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction. A proper understanding of the grammar involved may help to solve this exegetical and ecclesiastical problem.

But Eph 4:11 is not the only debatable passage involving this construction. Just within Ephesians we may also note 1:1, which uses substantival adjectives (τοῖς ἁγίοις . . . καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). The question here would be: are the saints to be identified with the faithful in Christ Jesus? Although we would want to argue this theologically, is there in fact grammatical evidence on our side? In 2:20 and 3:5 this construction is used of the apostles and prophets (τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν in 2:20 and τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις in 3:5). Are these two groups identical? Or, if not, is the foundation of the church built upon the NT apostles and OT prophets (2:20)? Has the mystery of Christ been revealed to OT prophets (3:5)? These are pertinent questions theologically which the syntax of this construction may help to resolve.

"teachers were holders of another office" without giving any evidence. Ellicott argues solely from scanty lexical evidence). Yet those who affirm that one group is identified by the phrase have little syntactical evidence on their side as well. H. Alford (*The Greek Testament*, vol. 3: *Galatians-Philemon*, rev. by E. F. Harrison [Chicago: Moody 1958]) argues that "from these latter not being distinguished from the pastors by the τοὺς δέ, it would seem that the two offices were held by the same persons" (p. 117). But he gives no cross-references nor does he demonstrate that this is the normal usage of the plural construction. B. F. Westcott (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Macmillan, 1906]) argues for one class "not from a necessary combination of the two functions but from their connexion with a congregation" (p. 62). C. Hodge (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1856]) boldly states that "The absence of the article before διδασκάλους *proves* that the apostle intended to designate the same persons as at once pastors and teachers [italics added]" (p. 226). But then he curiously backs off from such grammatical dogma by adding that "It is true the article is at times omitted between two substantives referring to different classes . . ." (p. 227), citing Mark 15:1 as evidence. Finally, he reverts to his initial certitude by concluding, "But in such an enumeration as that contained in this verse . . . the laws of language *require* τοὺς δέ διδασκάλους, had the apostle intended to distinguish the διδάσκαλοι from the ποιμένες [italics added]" (ibid.). No evidence is given to support this contention. It is significant, in fact, that of the commentaries surveyed, only Hodge mentioned any other text in which the plural construction occurred—a text which would not support his conclusions! Eadie, Abbott, Salmond, Lenski, Hendriksen, Erdman, Barclay, Wuest, and Barth also see the two terms referring to one group, though their arguments are either not based on syntax or make unwarranted and faulty assumptions about the syntax. Some would insist that the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction *requires* that the second group is to be identified with the first, but such a dogmatic position must be abandoned in light of such passages as Matt 16:1 ("the Pharisees and Sadducees") and Acts 17:12 ("the . . . women . . . and men")! A careful and exhaustive investigation of this phenomenon is therefore necessary if we wish to understand clearly the relation of pastors and teachers in Eph 4:11.

Outside of Ephesians there are several debatable passages which involve this construction as well. For example, we read of "the tax-collectors and sinners" in Matt 9:11, "the lawyers and Pharisees" in Luke 14:3, and "the apostles and elders" in Acts 15:2. These are but a handful of the plural constructions in the NT, though they are certainly among the more significant. The exegetical and theological significance of this construction is difficult to overestimate.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to investigate the semantic range (and, consequently, the exegetical significance) of the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction in the NT. I will restrict the discussion to constructions in which the plurals refer to *persons* and, at the same time, expand the discussion to include all substantives under the title "noun." In order to establish a proper framework for the semantics of this construction in the NT, we must first look at the work of Granville Sharp, then discuss the misunderstanding of his first rule with reference to the plural, and finally suggest a proper semantic grid for the construction.

THE WORK OF GRANVILLE SHARP

Granville Sharp (1735–1813) was an English philanthropist and abolitionist. He was a student of the Scriptures, although he was not a clergyman. He believed strongly in the verbal inspiration of the Bible and in the deity of Jesus Christ. His strong belief in Christ's deity led him to study the Scriptures in the original in order to defend more ably that precious truth. Through this motivation he became a good linguist, able to handle accurately both the Greek and Hebrew texts of Scripture. One of his publications, written before he discovered his "rule," was a defense of the view that "Jehovah" (YHWH) of the OT referred, at times, to each person of the Trinity. As he studied the Scriptures in the original, he noticed a certain pattern, namely, when the construction article-noun-καί-noun involved personal nouns which were singular and not proper names, they always referred to the same person. He noticed further that this rule applied in several texts to the deity of Jesus Christ. So in 1798 he published a lengthy volume entitled, *Remarks on the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament: Containing Many New Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from Passages Which Are Wrongly Translated in the Common English Version [KJV]*. The volume went through four editions (three British and one American).²

²The contents of this paragraph are from C. Kuehne, "The Greek Article and the Doctrine of Christ's Deity," *Journal of Theology* 13 (September, 1973) 15–18.

In this work Sharp articulated *six* rules, though what has commonly become known as "Sharp's Rule" is the first of these. Sharp articulated this rule as follows:

*When the copulative καὶ connects two nouns of the same case, [viz. nouns (either substantive or adjective, or participles) of personal description, respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connexion, and attributes, properties, or qualities, good or ill,] if the article ὁ, or any of its cases, precedes the first of the said nouns or participles, and is not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter always relates to the same person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle: i.e. it denotes a farther description of the first-named person . . .*³

To put this simply, in the construction article-noun-καὶ-noun, four requirements must be met if the two nouns refer to the same person: (1) both nouns must, of course, be personal; (2) both nouns must be common nouns, i.e., not proper names; (3) both nouns must be in the same case; and (4) both nouns must be singular in number. Although many today have argued against the validity of this rule, no one has demonstrated its invalidity in the NT.⁴ The implications of

³Granville Sharp, *Remarks on the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament: Containing Many New Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from Passages Which Are Wrongly Translated in the Common English Version*, 1st American edition (Philadelphia: B. B. Hopkins, 1807), 3.

⁴The best modern defense of the validity of Sharp's rule that I have seen is a seven-part series in the *Journal of Theology* by C. Kuehne ("The Greek Article and the Doctrine of Christ's Deity" in *JT* 13 [September, 1973] 12–28; 13 [December 1973] 14–30; 14 [March 1974] 11–20; 14 [June, 1974] 16–25; 14 [September, 1974] 21–33; 14 [December, 1974] 8–19; 15 [March, 1975] 8–22). Unfortunately, this journal apparently has such a limited circulation that this superb series has hardly been noticed. It may be added here that the primary reason evangelicals have been hesitant to adopt the validity of this rule is the anti-Trinitarian bias of last century's greatest grammarian of NT Greek, G. B. Winer. A. T. Robertson vividly points out Winer's influence:

A strange timidity seized some of the translators in the Jerusalem Chamber that is reproduced by the American Committee. There is no hesitation in translating John i. 1 as the text has it. Why boggle over 2 Peter i. 1?

The explanation is to be found in Winer's *Grammar* (Thayer's Edition, p. 130; W. F. Moulton's (p. 162), where the author seeks by indirection to break the force of Granville Sharp's rule by saying that in 2 Peter i. 1 "there is not even a pronoun with σωτηρος." That is true, but it is quite beside the point. There is no pronoun with σωτηρος in 2 Peter i. 11, precisely the same idiom, where no one doubts the identity of "Lord and Saviour." Why refuse to apply the same rule to 2 Peter i. 1, that all admit, Winer included, to be true of 2 Peter i. 11? . . . The simple truth is that Winer's anti-Trinitarian prejudice overruled his grammatical rectitude in his remark about 2 Peter i. 1.

. . . It is plain, therefore, that Winer has exerted a pernicious influence, from the grammatical standpoint, on the interpretation of 2 Peter i. 1, and Titus ii. 13.

this rule for the deity of Christ in passages such as Titus 2:13 (τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ) and 2 Pet 1:1 (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) are, to say the least, rather significant.

THE MISUNDERSTANDING OF SHARP'S RULE
WITH REFERENCE TO THE PLURAL

Considered to be Legitimately Applied to the Plural by Some

As we have already seen by surveying some commentaries on Eph 4:11, several commentators assumed that the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction identified the second noun with the first just as the singular construction did.⁵ Wuest articulates this assumption most clearly: "The words 'pastors' and 'teachers' are in a construction called Granvill [*sic*] Sharp's rule which indicates that they refer to one individual."⁶

How has such an assumption arisen? On this we can only conjecture, but it is possibly due to (1) the lack of clarity by Sharp himself in *stating* his first rule and (2) a continued ambiguity in the grammars. As we saw earlier, Sharp does not *clearly* state that his rule is applicable only in the singular. Such a conclusion may be at best only inferred via an argument from silence (i.e., in stating that "*the latter always relates to the same person . . . i.e. it denotes a farther description of the first-named person,*"⁷ Sharp only refers to the singular). However, a perusal of his monograph reveals that he insisted on the singular in order for the rule to apply absolutely.⁸ The grammars have perpetuated this ambiguity. Some, of course, have dogmatically stated (and without sufficient evidence) that the rule

Scholars who believed in the Deity of Christ have not wished to claim too much and to fly in the face of Winer, the great grammarian, for three generations. But Winer did not make out a sound case against Sharp's principle as applied to 2 Peter i. 1 and Titus ii. 13. Sharp stands vindicated after all the dust has settled.

(A. T. Robertson, "The Greek Article and the Deity of Christ," *The Expositor*, 8th Series, vol. 21 [1921] 185, 187.)

⁵See n. 1 for a survey of these commentaries.

⁶K. Wuest, *Wuest's Word Studies from the Greek New Testament Ephesians and Colossians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 101.

⁷G. Sharp, *Remarks*, 3.

⁸On pp. 5-6 Sharp points out that

. . . there is no exception or instance of the like mode of expression, that I know of, which necessarily requires a construction different from what is here laid down, EXCEPT the nouns be *proper names*, or *in the plural number*; in which cases there are many exceptions. . . .

does not even apply in the singular.⁹ Others have sided with Sharp, but apparently have neglected his requirement that the construction be in the singular, or else their discussion is vague enough to be misleading.¹⁰ Robertson stands apart as having the most lengthy

⁹E.g., W. H. Simcox (*The Language of the New Testament* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890]) declares: “. . . in Tit. ii. 13, 2 Peter i. 1, we regard θεοῦ and σωτήρος as indicating two Persons, though only the former word has the article” (p. 50). G. B. Winer (*A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. and rev. by W. F. Moulton, 3rd ed., rev. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882]), as was mentioned in n. 4, allowed his theological bias to override the plain evidence from the syntax governed by Sharp’s Rule:

In Tit. ii. 13 . . . considerations derived from Paul’s system of doctrine lead me to believe that σωτήρος is not a second predicate, co-ordinate with θεοῦ . . .

[In n. 2 at the bottom of the same page:] In the above remarks it was not my intention to deny that, in point of *grammar*, σωτήρος ἡμῶν may be regarded as a second predicate, jointly depending on the article τοῦ; but the dogmatic conviction derived from Paul’s writings that this apostle cannot have called Christ *the great God* induced me to show that there is no grammatical obstacle to our taking the clause καὶ σωτ. . . . Χριστοῦ by itself, as referring to a second subject (p. 162).

J. H. Moulton (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena*, 3rd ed. [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908]) is strongly influenced by Winer’s comment on Titus 2:13, reading it as though borne from a sober grammatical judgment: “We cannot discuss here the problem of Tit 2¹³, for we must *as grammarians*, leave the matter open: see WM 162, 156n [italics added]” (p. 84). But his own Trinitarian persuasion comes through as he cites evidence from the papyri that the phrase found in Titus 2:13 and 2 Pet 1:1 was used of one person, the emperor (ibid.). Finally, M. Zerwick (*Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963]) states that the rule is only suggestive, “since the unity of article would be sufficiently accounted for by any conjunction, in the writer’s mind, of the notions expressed” (p. 60).

¹⁰E.g., L. Radermacher (*Neutestamentliche Grammatik*, 2nd ed. [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925]) makes an ambiguous statement: “Wenn mehrere Substantiva in der Aufzählung miteinander verbunden werden, genügt oft der Artikel beim ersten Wort und zwar nicht allein bei gleichem Genus” (p. 115), citing τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας (Col 2:22) as evidence. He goes on to say that the same phenomenon occurs in hellenistic Greek, citing ὁ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη as an example (ibid.). His two examples are both impersonal, one being singular and the other plural. A case could be made for the first example expressing identity, but certainly not the second. W. D. Chamberlain (*An Exegetical Grammar of the Greek New Testament* [New York: Macmillan, 1941]) seems to have a clear understanding as to when the rule applies and when it does not, but he does not clearly articulate this to the reader (p. 55). F. Blass and A. Debrunner (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. by R. W. Funk [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961]) seem to support the rule in Titus 2:13 and 2 Pet 1:1, but also apply it to proper, impersonal names (p. 145)! They make no comment about the plural. C. F. D. Moule (*An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959]) has a sober treatment of the rule, seeing its application in the singular and questioning it in the plural (pp. 109–10). But he sides with Radermacher by allowing it

discussion of the article-noun-kai'-noun construction though he considers the impersonal construction to fit the rule and the plural construction to specify two distinct groups.¹¹

Improper Semantic Approach by Others

More recently, a few have recognized that the rule applies absolutely only to singular nouns.¹² Their articulations as to when the

with impersonal nouns. N. Turner (*A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3: *Syntax*, by N. Turner [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963] and *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965]) seems to vacillate in his discussion, for he apparently allows the rule to stand with the singular nouns (*Syntax*, 181; *Insights*, 15–16), but also applies it to the plural at his discretion (*Syntax*, 181). Thus he speaks of a “unified whole” with reference to Eph 2:20, Luke 22:4, and Acts 15:2, but then declares that this same construction may “indeed indicate that two distinct subjects are involved [*italics mine*]” (ibid.), citing the common phrase of Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι as an illustration. It is doubtful that the construction indicates two antithetical ideas; it is rather better to say that it *allows* for this. J. H. Greenlee (*A Concise Exegetical Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963]) is very unclear when he applies the rule to impersonal constructions (Eph 3:18) and plurals (John 7:45) (p. 50). C. Vaughan and V. E. Gideon (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* [Nashville: Broadman, 1979]) apply the rule to both impersonal and personal constructions, making no comment about the plurals (p. 83). They do note, however, that there are exceptions with the impersonal constructions (ibid., n. 8). Finally, J. A. Brooks and C. L. Winberry (*Syntax of New Testament Greek* [Washington: University Press of America, 1979]) apply the rule to personal, impersonal, and plural constructions explicitly (pp. 70–71). It is no wonder, therefore, that the exegetes have misread the semantic range of the plural construction since the grammarians have almost universally failed to restrict the application of the rule to the singular or have been so vague as to speak only of *some* kind of unity (whether a loose tie or apposition) with reference to the plural.

¹¹A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 4th ed. (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 785–89.

¹²E. A. Blum (“Studies in Problem Areas of the Greek Article” [Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1961]) declares with reference to Sharp’s first rule (p. 29):

Since he is talking about nouns of personal description, Wuest was wrong in applying the rule to Acts 2:23 [τῇ . . . βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει]. Since he limits his rule to the singular, it is wrong to apply the rule to the “pastors and teachers” of Ephesians 4:11.

Kuehne is in full agreement, observing that Sharp “specifically excluded plural personal nouns and proper names from the rule” (*JT* 13 [December, 1973] 17). A. M. Malphurs (“The Relationship of Pastors and Teachers in Ephesians 4:11” [Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978]) concurs: “Therefore, Sharp states that plural nouns as well as proper names are an exception to his rule because some examples in the Scriptures seem to agree with the rule while others contradict it” (p. 23). R. D. Durham (“Granville Sharp’s Rule” [unpublished paper, Grace Theological Seminary, 1972]) acknowledges the exceptions to the rule of the plural and proper names, but thinks that Sharp meant to include *impersonal* nouns as meeting the

rule does and does not apply are, therefore, among the clearest presentations I have seen. However, when they examine the plural construction, their semantic approach is inadequate in that the only question they raise is: are the two groups identical or distinct?¹³ Such a question for the singular, personal construction is entirely adequate: either the first-named person is identical with the second-named person or he is distinct. But the very nature of a *plural* construction demands that several other questions be asked if we are to see with precision its semantic range (i.e., since the plural construction deals with *groups*, there may be other possibilities besides absolute distinction and absolute identity). Thus, although the most recent treatments of the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction are *accurate* in absolutely applying Sharp's rule only to the singular, they are nevertheless *inadequate* in only raising the same question they asked of the singular construction.¹⁴

requirements of his *first* rule (p. 7). Finally, G. W. Rider ("An Investigation of the Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals" [Th.M. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1980]) sides with Durham in treating plurals and proper names as exceptions, but impersonal nouns as fitting the rule (pp. 23-25). Thus all five of the most recent treatments on the article-noun-καί-noun construction acknowledge that Sharp intended to exclude plurals and proper names from consideration. However, Durham and Rider believe that Sharp did *not* exclude impersonal constructions. Although this point is ancillary to the subject of this paper, I believe that Durham and Rider have misread Sharp, for Sharp explicitly states that he accepts the impersonal constructions as fitting the second, third, fifth, and sixth rules, but not the *first* or fourth (*Remarks*, 120; cf. also pp. 140-42 in which Sharp refutes a certain Mr. Blunt for bringing in impersonal constructions as exceptions to the rule). It may be added here that there has been quite a bit of confusion and misunderstanding by some over the application of the impersonal construction to Sharp's first rule. For example, some see the rule applying in Eph 3:18 (τὸ πλάτος καὶ μήκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος) because the four terms of measurement all refer to God's love. Although this is true, the four terms are not identical with *each other*. Such would have to be the case if Sharp's rule were to apply here. Cf. also Rev 1:9 and 5:12 for very clear references where the impersonal construction does not fit the rule.

¹³Blum, "Problem Areas," pp. 26-27 (Blum is not to be faulted, however, since the plural construction is entirely ancillary to the point of his thesis); Kuehne (*JT* 13 [December, 1973]) has a lengthy discussion on the plural construction, though he deals with it under only two semantic grids: identical vs. distinct groups (pp. 18-21); Malphurs ("Pastors and Teachers") follows the same scheme as Kuehne (pp. 24-29), neglecting any semantic nuances besides distinction and identity; Durham ("Sharp's Rule") attempts to make all plural constructions fit the rule, even though he recognizes that Sharp considered the plurals as a clear exception (pp. 31-34). It seems to me that Durham's error is that he does not distinguish unity from identity (cf. the comments in n. 12 with reference to impersonal constructions); finally, Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals") deals only with the question of distinction vs. identity, even though his thesis is specifically on the plural phenomenon (pp. 41-78, 79-96).

¹⁴This is completely understandable because (1) when those who have studied Sharp's rule finally turn to the plural construction, the question foremost in their minds most naturally is: does the plural construction fit the rule or not? Thus by their

A PROPER SEMANTIC GRID

As was mentioned in the preceding section, the only question that has been raised with reference to the semantics of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction is: are the two groups identical or distinct? A proper semantic grid should see this question as addressing the outer limits, the black and white of the semantics of the plural construction. However, there are various shades of gray which also need to be explored. The approach in this section is to lay out in chart form the *antecedently possible* semantic range of the plural construction. Then, in the final section, the plural construction in the NT will be investigated briefly to see what the *actual* semantic range is.

Two Entirely Distinct Groups, Though United

The grammars are agreed that even when two entirely distinct groups are in view, the fact that the article precedes only the first-named group indicates that they are united somehow. Thus, by way of illustration,¹⁵ in the clause, "The Democrats and Republicans approved the bill unanimously," the two political parties, though distinct, are united on a particular issue. Illustrations of this kind are numerous, e.g., "the mothers and children," "the fathers and daughters," "the coaches and athletes," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 1.¹⁶

Two Overlapping Groups

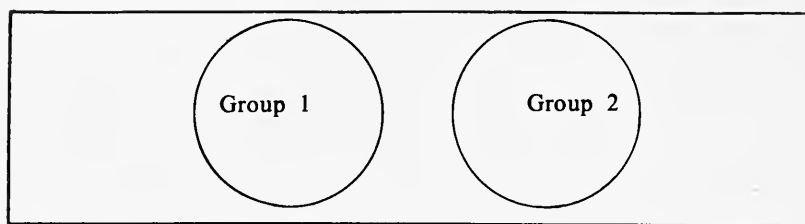
It is theoretically possible that the plural construction in the NT could refer to two overlapping groups. That is, some members of the first-named group could belong to the second-named group and vice-versa. The idea of this nuance would probably be expressed in modern English by "The X and/or Y" and vice-versa. We could

preoccupation with this very question, they lock themselves into a binary system which does not allow them to see other alternatives; and (2) as James Barr laments in his *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1961), most theological students (myself included) rarely have any substantial training in modern linguistics (pp. 288-96). Since this is the case, we should not necessarily expect that those who have been trained in theology as a prior discipline should be able to ask all the right linguistic questions of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction.

¹⁵In this and the following sections, *English* illustrations will be used only to demonstrate, via analogy, that a particular semantic nuance is possible. I am not implying by such illustrations that the English idiom is identical with the Greek.

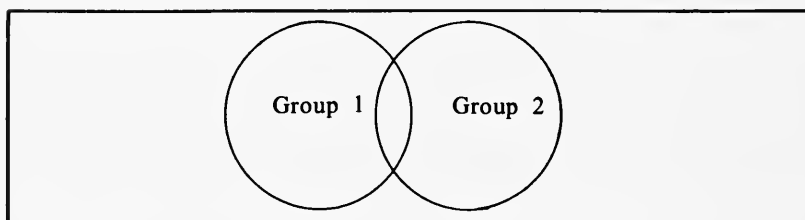
¹⁶In this and the following charts, the definite article before the first noun and the kai between the two nouns are omitted because these charts are intended to depict the *semantics*, not the *structure*, of the article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction. It is assumed that the reader is well acquainted with the structure under consideration.

Chart 1



illustrate this with such phrases as "the student council members and football players," "the blind and elderly," "the scientists and Christians," "the healthy and wealthy and wise," "the poor and miserable." It is possible in each of these constructions that some overlap could take place, given a particular context. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 2.

Chart 2



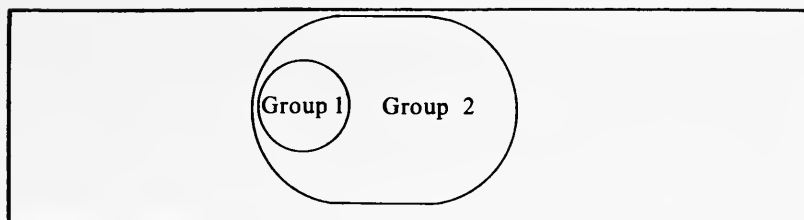
First Group Sub-Set of Second

The third possibility is that the first-named group is a sub-set of the second, i.e., it is entirely included with the second-named group. The idea then would be "The X and [other] Y." Thus, by way of illustration, one could speak of "the angels and created beings," "the southern Baptists and evangelicals," "the deaf and handicapped," "the saints and sinners." This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 3.

Second Group Sub-Set of First

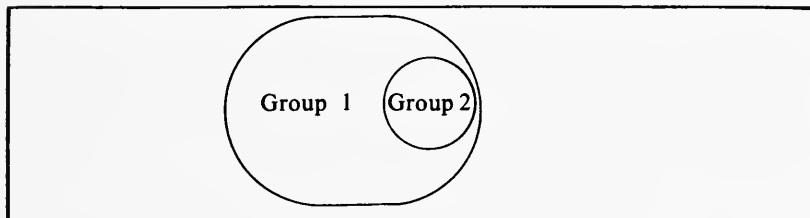
The fourth possibility is that the second-named group is a sub-set of the first. The idea then would be "The X and [in particular] Y." This could be illustrated with such phrases as "the created beings and

Chart 3



angels," "the handicapped and deaf," "the teachers and professors," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 4.

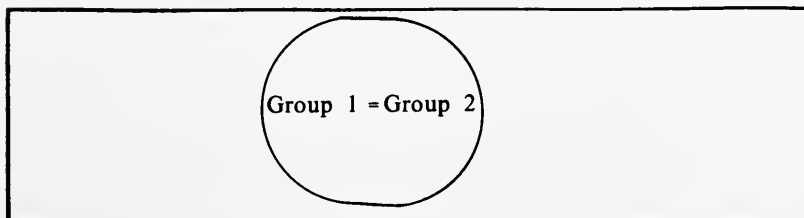
Chart 4



Two Groups Identical

Finally, the groups may be entirely identical. The idea may be expressed, "The X *who are* Y," or "The X *even* Y." Thus, by way of illustration, one could speak of "The Los Angeles Dodgers and world champions of baseball," "the evil and wicked," "the Gentiles and outsiders," "the powerful and mighty," etc. This particular semantic nuance is diagrammed in Chart 5.

Chart 5



As far as I can tell, these five nuances comprise the antecedently *possible* semantic range of the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction. It remains to be seen whether this is the *actual* semantic range in the NT.

THE PHENOMENON IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

I have discovered 70 plural constructions in the NT which fit the pattern article-noun-καί-noun¹⁷ and 7 other plural constructions which *perhaps* fit this pattern.¹⁸ Of these seven questionable instances, I consider one to be legitimate,¹⁹ bringing the total to 71 constructions

¹⁷As noted earlier in the paper, I am restricting my discussion to *personal* constructions. These constructions are found in the following texts: Matt 2:4; 3:7; 5:6, 20; 9:11; 11:28; 12:38; 16:1, 6, 11, 12, 21; 20:18; 21:12, 15; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 2:16 (twice); 12:40; 15:1; Luke 5:30; 6:35; 7:32; 8:21; 9:22; 11:28; 12:4; 14:3, 21; 15:9; 18:9; 20:46; 22:4, 52; John 1:40; 7:45; 11:31, 45; 20:29; Acts 15:2; 16:4; 17:12; 23:7; Rom 16:7; 1 Cor 5:10; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Eph 1:1; 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Phil 3:3; 1 Thess 5:12; 1 Tim 4:3; 5:8; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:15; Heb 5:2; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 2:10; 3:16; 3 John 5; Rev 1:3; 11:9; 12:17; 18:9; 21:8.

¹⁸See Luke 1:2; 10:30; Acts 8:25; 9:15; 17:18; Col 1:2; Heb 6:4–6.

¹⁹The one legitimate construction, as I see it, is in Col 1:2 (τοῖς . . . ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς). Here it is *possible* to construe ἁγίοις as an attributive adjective modifying ἀδελφοῖς (with πιστοῖς being the second attributive) rather than as a substantival adjective. However, in light of the well worn substantival use of ἅγιος in the NT generally (cf., e.g., Acts 9:13, 32; Rom 8:27; 12:13; 1 Cor 6:1–2; Eph 2:19; 3:8; Phil 4:22; 1 Tim 5:10; Heb 6:10), in the Pauline salutations more particularly (cf., e.g., Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1), and in the parallel in Ephesians especially (1:1), ἁγίοις here is probably substantival and, consequently, fitting the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction.

The other constructions, which I do not consider to be legitimate, are: (1) Luke 1:2 (οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπαι καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι) involves a definite article which functions as a substantiver of the prepositional phrase, though independently of the following nouns; (2) Luke 10:30, cited by Durham ("Sharp's Rule," p. 34), does not use the article but the personal pronoun οἱ; (3) Acts 8:25, cited by Durham (ibid.) and Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," pp. 71–72), employs the article in the place of a personal pronoun with *circumstantial* participles (Οἱ μὲν . . . διαμαρτυράμενοι καὶ λαλήσαντες); (4) in Acts 9:15, manuscripts B and C* add the article (τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ βασιλέων υἱῶν τε Ἰσραὴλ), but the construction employs τε as well as καὶ for its conjunctions; (5) Acts 17:18, cited by Rider ("The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," pp. 51–52), involves two adjectives which are not substantival, but attributive (τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων); (6) Heb 6:4–6 involves five substantival participles, but the second member of the group uses τε instead of καὶ for its conjunction (τοὺς . . . φωτισθέντας, γευσάμενους τε . . . καὶ γεννηθέντας . . . καὶ . . . γευσάμενους . . . καὶ παραπεσόντας). It should be noted that although this construction does not fit the *precise* construction discussed in this paper, it is still clearly analogous to it. That is to say, all of the participles must be governed by the article and, consequently, must be substantival. Thus the view held by some that the last participle (παραπεσόντας) is conditional (and therefore circumstantial) flies in the face of clear syntactical usage (cf. J. A. Sproule, "Παραπεσόντας in Hebrews 6:6," GTJ 2 [1981] 327–32).

which will form the substance of this portion of the paper. With regard to the use of participles, adjectives, and nouns as substantives, the breakdown is as follows: (1) 25 constructions involve participles;²⁰ (2) 6 constructions involve adjectives;²¹ (3) 17 constructions involve nouns;²² and (4) 23 constructions are mixed.²³

Semantic Classifications

A well-established principle of lexical and syntactical investigation is to define the *actual* field of meaning by bringing forth clear instances of a particular word or construction. Then, the ambiguous and/or exegetically significant passages would be expected to fit into one of the previously determined categories. The antecedent probability²⁴ that the ambiguous text will fit into an established category is determined by the total amount of constructions and the percentage of those which are clearly identifiable.²⁵ Thus, for example, if we were unable to find one *clear* instance in which two nouns in an article-noun-kai'-noun plural construction were identical, we would be on rather shaky ground to *demand* such an interpretation in Eph 4:11—especially if such an interpretation were based primarily on the syntax.

Our approach here, therefore, will first be to see which of the five antecedently *possible* categories have valid examples in the NT and second, to discuss some of the ambiguous and exegetically significant examples.

²⁰See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:12, 15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Phil 3:3 (three participles); 1 Thess 5:12 (three participles); 2 Tim 3:6; Heb 5:2; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

²¹See Luke 6:35; 14:21 (four adjectives); Eph 1:1; 1 Tim 5:8; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 3:16.

²²See Matt 2:4; 3:7; 5:20; 12:38; 16:1, 6, 11, 12; 20:18; Luke 22:4; John 7:45; Acts 17:12; 23:7; Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Rev 11:9.

²³These may be divided into two groups: mixed constructions with participles and mixed constructions without participles. With participles: 1 Tim 4:3 (adjective, participle); Titus 1:15 (participle, adjective); Rev 21:8 (adjective, adjective, participle, noun, noun, noun, noun). Without participles: Matt 9:11 (na); 16:21 (ann); 26:47 (na); 27:3 (na), 12 (na), 41 (na); Mark 2:16 (twice—an, na); 15:1 (an); Luke 5:30 (na); 9:22 (ann); 14:3 (an); 15:9 (an); 22:52 (nna); Acts 15:2 (na); 16:4 (na); Rom 16:7 (an); 1 Cor 5:10 (na); Col 1:2 (an); 3 John 5 (na).

²⁴By "antecedent probability" I mean the probability which has been established by grammar alone—*before* other exegetical considerations enter the picture.

²⁵Thus, for example, if there are over 80 article-noun-kai'-noun personal, *singular* constructions in the NT, and all except the few Christologically significant ones are clear that one person is being identified by the two nouns, then there is an extremely high antecedent probability that in Titus 2:13; 2 Pet 1:1, *et al.*, the biblical author is referring to one person. Arguments against such a view must be based on other than syntax, yet it is significant that those who do argue against the view usually attempt to use syntax as the primary weapon in their arsenal!

Validation of the Semantically Possible Categories

Two Entirely Distinct Groups, though United. I have discovered 19 clear examples of this semantic group.²⁶ For example, in Matt 3:7 we read τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων. Although the two religious parties were entirely distinct, the one article unites them in some way. This is the first mention of either Pharisees or Sadducees in Matthew's gospel, and it may be significant that he presents these two parties which were historically opposed to one another²⁷ as *united* in their opposition to the Messiah's forerunner. Matthew mentions the Pharisees and the Sadducees together only four other times in his gospel and in each instance the construction is article-noun-καί-noun and the two groups are contrasted with the Messiah.²⁸ In Matt 16:21 we read τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων. These were the three distinct parties which comprised the Sanhedrin.²⁹ (Some have erroneously insisted that this construction fits the Granville Sharp rule because these three groups all refer to the Sanhedrin. However, to say that $A + B + C = D$ is not the same as saying $A = B = C$, the latter equation being what the Granville Sharp rule asserts.) This phrase, involving at least two of the three groups, occurs another eight times in the NT.³⁰ Apart from constructions involving the religious parties or groups which comprised the Sanhedrin (for at least one of the substantives), there is only one clear example in which the two nouns are entirely distinct. In Acts 17:12 we see "women . . . and men" in the construction (τῶν . . . γυναικῶν . . . καὶ ἀνδρῶν). Nevertheless, even though the clear examples almost exclusively occur in set phrases, in light of such clear examples of entirely distinct groups united by one article (accounting for 27% of all plural constructions), the dogmatic insistence of many exegetes

²⁶See Matt 2:4; 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12, 21; 20:18; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 15:1; Luke 9:22; 22:4, 52; John 7:45; Acts 17:12; 23:7.

²⁷J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 265–67. Cf. also E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 2, 409–11.

²⁸See Matt 16:1, 6, 11, 12. See also Acts 23:7 for the only other instance of these two groups in this construction.

²⁹On ἀρχιερεύς, see Schrenk, "ἀρχιερεύς," *TDNT*, 3, 270–71; Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 179–80; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13; on γραμματεὺς, see Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 236; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13; on πρεσβύτερος, see BAGD, s.v. "πρεσβύτερος," 2. a. β.; G. Bornkamm, "πρεσβύτερος," *TDNT*, 6, 659; Schürer, *Jewish People*, 2, 212–13.

³⁰See Matt 2:4; 20:18; 26:47; 27:3, 12, 41; Mark 15:1; Luke 9:22. On three other occasions, the chief priests are mentioned with another group(s): Luke 22:4 (τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς); Luke 22:52 (τοὺς . . . ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς . . . καὶ πρεσβυτέρους); John 7:45 (τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους).

that this construction fits the Granville Sharp rule does not seem to be borne out of sober reflection.

Two Overlapping Groups. I have discovered only two clear examples of this semantic group, making it the least attested category. In Luke 14:21 we read τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀναπεῖρους καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς. It must be remembered that although these four adjectives are not synonymous, this does not preclude them from identifying the same group. (Otherwise it would not be possible for a blind man to be poor!) However, it is doubtful that in this parable the slave was told to bring *only* those who met all four "qualifications"! Rather, the obvious implication is that the new guest list was neither restricted on the one hand to those who fit only one category, nor on the other hand to those who fit all four. Thus an overlap of categories is obviously the nuance intended by the author. In Rev 21:8, the most complex article-noun-καί-noun construction in the NT (involving seven substantives: τοῖς . . . δειλοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐβδελυγμένοις καὶ φονεῦσιν καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις), we have a similar situation. Obviously, one would be committing exegetical and theological suicide to insist that the lake of fire is reserved *only* for those who meet *all* of the "qualifications," or for those who meet only *one* requirement. These two texts, though comprising less than 3% of all the plural constructions, demonstrate the inadequacy of distinguishing only the entirely distinct and the entirely identical nuances for this structural phenomenon.

First Group Sub-Set of Second. I have found seven clear instances of this semantic group.³¹ In Matt 5:20 (and 12:38) we read τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων. Although not all scribes were Pharisees,³² when the two groups are mentioned together the author is almost certainly indicating "the scribes and *other* Pharisees."³³

³¹See Matt 5:20; 9:11; 12:38; Mark 2:16; Luke 5:30; 6:35; 14:3.

³²See Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 233–45, for an excellent argument against the notions that scribes = Pharisees (i.e., identical) and that *all* scribes were Pharisees (i.e., sub-set).

³³This point can be established in some measure by a comparison of the synoptic gospels. For example, Mark 2:16 has "the scribes of the Pharisees" (οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων) while the parallel passage in Luke 5:30 reads "the Pharisees and their scribes" (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν). Although the article is used with both nouns in the Lucan account, one could hardly argue that such indicates unity more strongly than the article-noun-καί-noun construction would. As well, there are three parallels in which the Pharisees alone are mentioned in one gospel and the scribes and Pharisees in another (cf. Matt 12:38 with Mark 8:11; Matt 15:1 with Luke 11:37; and Matt 9:11 with Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30). Although such evidence does not prove that the scribes in these passages were Pharisees (due to the selectivity of the evangelists—cf., e.g., Matt 16:6 with Luke 12:2), it is rather suggestive. Furthermore, even though Jeremias insists that not all scribes were Pharisees and that not all

Matt 9:11 speaks of "the tax-collectors and sinners" (τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν).³⁴ Although some have argued that two distinct groups are in view (the one Jewish, the other Gentile),³⁵ it is far better to understand the τελώνης as a Jew³⁶ and ἁμαρτωλός as *any* sinner, Jew or Gentile.³⁷ The impossibility of maintaining an absolute distinction between the two is demonstrated in Luke 18:13 in which a tax-collector (τελώνης) prays, "O God, be merciful to me, the sinner" (ὁ θεός, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ). In Luke 14:3 we see τοὺς νομικοὺς καὶ Φαρισαίους.³⁸ The substantival adjective νομικός is clearly synonymous with γραμματεὺς;³⁹ thus the construction has the same semantic value as τοὺς γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους. Finally, note the substantival adjectives in Luke 6:35 (τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς). Quite obviously, ingratitude is a *kind* of evil; thus the ungrateful ones are a part of the larger group of evil ones. In summary, although the *clear* examples of this semantic category comprise only 10% of all plural constructions, it is a legitimate and well-attested category which will demand consideration in at least five exegetically significant and/or ambiguous passages.

Second Group Sub-Set of First. I have discovered four clear examples of this semantic category. In Mark 2:16 we read of both "the tax-collectors and sinners" (first sub-set of second) and "the sinners and tax-collectors" (τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν). However, there is some substantial textual deviation from the word order of this phrase, with N, A, C, families 1 and 13, and the Byzantine cursives, *et al.*, reading τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν. In 1 Cor 5:10 we see τοῖς πλεονέκταις καὶ ἄρπαξιν. Although one could be greedy (πλεονέκτης) without being branded as a swindler (ἄρπαξ), it is doubtful that the reverse could be true. What alters the picture,

Pharisees were scribes (*Jerusalem*, 233–45), he nevertheless recognizes that most scribes were Pharisees (p. 243) and that "This expression ['the scribes and Pharisees'] shows that besides the leaders who were scribes, the great majority of members had not had a scribal education" (p. 258). The joining of the two nouns, then (whether with one article or two), is clearly used to indicate Pharisaic scribes and other Pharisees.

³⁴Cf. Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30 for parallel accounts, both of which have the same construction as is found in Matt 9:11.

³⁵See, e.g., G. W. Rider, "The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," 42–44.

³⁶See BAGD, s.v. "τελώνης."

³⁷See BAGD, s.v. "ἁμαρτωλός," 2. That ἁμαρτωλός was applied both to Jew and Gentile can be easily substantiated. With reference to Gentiles, cf., e.g., Matt 26:45 with Luke 18:32. With reference to both, cf., e.g., Matt 9:13. With reference to Jews, cf., e.g., Luke 7:37 with John 12:3; Luke 13:1.

³⁸See Mark 2:16 and Luke 5:30 for the other two examples of this particular phrase.

³⁹Note the parallels: Matt 22:35 (νομικός) with Mark 12:28 (εἰς τῶν γραμματέων); Matt 23:13 (γραμματεῖς) with Luke 11:52 (νομικοῖς) and 11:53 (οἱ γραμματεῖς). Cf. also the comments by Gutbrod, *TDNT*, 4. 1088, and Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 254–55.

however, is that ἦ is found instead of καί in P46, \aleph^2 , D², Ψ , and the Byzantine minuscules, *et al.*, nullifying the construction in a large portion of the Greek witnesses to this text. In 1 Tim 5:8 Paul adds an adverb to clarify the relation between the two substantives (τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα οἰκείων), though again the MSS are divided with C, D¹, and the Byzantine cursives containing a second article (thus, τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν οἰκείων). Finally, in 3 John 5 we read εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τοῦτο ξένους. Here καὶ τοῦτο functions adverbially, having a similar force to καὶ μάλιστα in 1 Tim 5:8.⁴⁰ But the construction (as we might have expected!) is altered in some of the witnesses (in particular, P and the Byzantine cursives which have εἰς τοὺς instead of τοῦτο). Thus, although there are four clear passages in this semantic group (comprising almost 6% of all the plural constructions), their testimony *in each instance* is rendered somewhat less certain due to the textual variants. One might wonder, with some justification, whether the “preferred” readings have created an idiom which is foreign to the NT while these *variae lectiones* have preserved the true text.⁴¹

Two Groups Identical. I have discovered 28 clear examples of this semantic group.⁴² In Rev 1:3 we read that “those who hear and who keep” (οἱ ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ τηροῦντες) the words of the prophecy are blessed. It would seem obvious that the one who *only* hears the Scripture read and does not obey it would fall short of the blessing.⁴³ The two-fold response of hearing *and* keeping is necessary if one is to be counted among the μακάριοι. In John 1:40 we read of Andrew who was one of the two men who heard John and who began to follow the Lord (τῶν ἀκουσάντων . . . καὶ ἀκολουθησάντων). If only two men are mentioned (δύο) and the participles are in the plural, then both must have heard and followed. In John 20:29 the Lord promises a particular blessing to “those who do not see and [yet] believe” (οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες). The negative qualification of not seeing the risen Lord is, of course, insufficient of itself

⁴⁰See BAGD, s.v. “οὗτος,” 1. b. γ. Rom 13:11; 1 Cor 6:6, 8; and Eph 2:8 are cited as illustrative references.

⁴¹It might be significant that the Byzantine minuscules were the only MSS to deviate in all instances. The possible significance is certainly worth pursuing, though it is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁴²See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; Rom 16:7; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Eph 1:1; Phil 3:3; Col 1:2; 1 Thess 5:12; 2 Tim 3:6; Titus 1:15; 1 Pet 2:18; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

⁴³Such a conclusion is so obvious in fact that most commentaries on the Apocalypse *assume* it to be true without any grammatical defense. Furthermore, if John were to pronounce a blessing on mere hearers, he would be contradicting James' pointed remark that the man who simply hears is self-deluded (Jas 1:22). Both James and John are no doubt repeating their Lord's statements to the same effect (cf. Luke 8:21; 11:28).

to procure such a blessing. What we have seen thus far are a few examples of this semantic group which involve *only* participles. Altogether, 23 of the 28 constructions belonging to this category involve only participles.⁴⁴ The participial constructions are in fact so transparent in their semantic force that Rider believes that *every* exclusively participial construction belongs to this semantic group,⁴⁵ even though he does not see *any* clear examples of identity in non-participial constructions.⁴⁶ Although some adjustment should be made to Rider's view, it is an indisputed and rather significant fact that most (if not all) of the wholly participial constructions do follow the semantics of the Granville Sharp rule and that this final semantic category is comprised of an overwhelming majority of participial constructions.

However, although the participles hold a clear majority in this group, they are not the only grammatical forms an author could have selected to indicate identity between the two substantives. I have discovered five clear instances of non-participial or partially participial constructions which belong here as well. In Rom 16:7 Paul greets Andronicus and Junius, "my kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners" (τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ συναιχμαλώτους μου). Here the substantival adjective συγγενεῖς and noun συναιχμαλώτους must, of course, both refer to the two men. Two Alexandrian MSS (P46 and B) add an article to the noun, however. In Eph 1:1 Paul addresses his letter "to the saints who are in Ephesus and [who are] faithful in Christ Jesus" (τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). Although there are textual variants from this text, none affects the article-noun-καί-noun construction. In light of Pauline theology, it is rather doubtful that he would be specifying two groups which could be distinguished in any way. If one were either to see the two groups as entirely distinct, as overlapping, or the first as a sub-set of the second, the resultant idea would be that at least some of the faithful in Christ Jesus were not saints!⁴⁷ And the second group could hardly be viewed as a sub-set of the first because (1) syntactically and textually, this would be the lone NT instance which did not have a

⁴⁴See Matt 5:6; 11:28; 21:15; Mark 12:40; Luke 7:32; 8:21; 11:28; 12:4; 18:9; 20:46; John 1:40; 11:31, 45; 20:29; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 1:7; Phil 3:3; 1 Thess 5:12; 2 Tim 3:6; 2 Pet 2:10; Rev 1:3; 12:17; 18:9.

⁴⁵G. W. Rider, "The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," 66.

⁴⁶Ibid., 77-78.

⁴⁷Though such a concept might fit the Roman doctrine of sainthood, it is not Pauline, for even the licentious Corinthians were called saints (1 Cor 1:2). The term can obviously be used of positional truth, which, if it speaks of merit, speaks only of the merit of Christ.

textual variant;⁴⁸ (2) theologically, such a view would seem to restrict the Pauline doctrine of perseverance to less than all the elect; and (3) lexically, the route normally taken by those who deny a perseverance of all the elect is to read πιστοῖς actively as "believing" and still to see identity of the two substantives.⁴⁹ Thus, barring exegetical factors which may have been overlooked, there seems to be no good reason not to take the two adjectives as referring to the same group. Since this is so, with reasonable confidence we can say with Barth that

It is unlikely that Paul wanted to distinguish two classes among the Christians, i.e. a "faithful" group from another larger or smaller group that is "holy." Such a distinction would be unparalleled in the Pauline letters. Even the wild Corinthians are called "sanctified" and "perfect" (1 Cor 1:2; 2:6). While occasionally Paul presupposes a sharp division between "those outside" and "those inside," between "the unbelieving" and "the faithful," he has no room for half- or three-quarter Christians. It is probable that here the Greek conjunction "and" has the meaning of "namely." It serves the purpose of explication and may therefore occasionally be omitted in translation if its intent is preserved.⁵⁰

In Col 1:2 we see almost the same wording as in Eph 1:1 (τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ).⁵¹ Thus the arguments which were brought forth for the Ephesian text would be equally applicable to the construction in this sister epistle. In Titus 1:15 the apostle speaks of "those who are defiled and unbelieving" (τοῖς δὲ μεμιαμμένοις καὶ ἀπίστοις—a mixed construction of participle and adjective). He seems to be clarifying just who the defiled are with the adjective ἀπίστοις, thus identifying them, in a sense, as "filthy non-Christians." Paul continues to describe this group in v 16 with epithets which could hardly describe believers (βδελυκτοί, ἀπειθεῖς, ἁδόκιμοι, κτλ.).⁵² Finally, Peter declares in his first epistle that servants should submit themselves to their masters, not only "to the good and gentle" (τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν) but also to the harsh (1 Pet 2:18). There is an obvious contrast here between two

⁴⁸Admittedly, this is not the strongest argument against such a view, though it does bear some weight. Furthermore, even ignoring the *variae lectiones*, this category is not as well attested as all but one of the other groups, rendering it less likely as the correct view without a strong helping hand from non-grammatical factors.

⁴⁹See, e.g., W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967), 70.

⁵⁰M. Barth, *Ephesians* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), 1. 68.

⁵¹See n. 19 for a discussion of the legitimacy of this construction.

⁵²Even if one were to argue that the persons identified in v 15 were believers (taking ἀπίστοις in the sense of 'unfaithful'), he would still see one group being specified in the construction.

classes of masters (note οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ), with the result being that to posit any semantic nuance other than identity for the article-noun-καί-noun construction would destroy the clearly intended antithetic parallel.

To sum up, the identical category has captured almost 40% of all the plural constructions in the NT. Over 82% of the constructions in this group involve participles exclusively. And although the identical category is the largest semantic group, it is weakly attested by non-participial constructions (only four belonging to this category, *none* of which is composed only of nouns).

Summary. Overall, 60 of the 71 article-noun-καί-noun constructions could be clearly tagged as to their semantic nuance (thus almost 85% percent were identifiable). With reference to these clear constructions, the breakdown is as follows:

Distinct	27% of total; 32% of clearly marked constructions
Overlap	roughly 3% of both
First sub-set	10% and 12%
Second sub-set	6% and 7%
Identical	40% and 47%

Although all five semantic groups were represented, certain patterns emerged which will certainly color our approach to the remaining eleven texts. We will break these down first by semantic groups and then by types of substantives.

With reference to the "distinct" category, we noted that although this is the second largest category, all but one of the instances occurred in a particular set phrase. As well, not one of the constructions involved participles. Concerning the "overlap" group, we saw that this is the smallest category (two examples). Furthermore, both examples were the most complex constructions in the NT (Luke 14:21 has four substantives and Rev 21:8 has seven). With reference to the "first sub-set of second" category, we found that this was well attested among adjective and noun constructions, though not at all found in participial constructions. With respect to the "second sub-set of first" group, we discovered four clear examples, though each one had fairly substantial textual deviations, making this nuance of the construction non-existent among the Byzantine MSS with various other witnesses departing from the "text" reading on each occasion as well. Finally, regarding the "identical" group, we observed that this, the largest of the semantic categories, captured all 23 of the wholly participial constructions (which could be clearly identified), five constructions involving at least one adjective, and no constructions made up exclusively of nouns.

The types of substantives involved are laid out in Chart 6:

Chart 6

	Distinct	Overlap	1st Sub- set of 2nd	2nd Sub- set of 1st	Identical	Totals
Noun + Noun	11		2			13
Adjective + Adjective		1	1	1	2	5
Participle + Participle					23	23
Mixed: Non- Participial	8		4	3	2	17
Mixed: With Participle		1			1	2
Totals	19	2	7	4	28	60

In conclusion, such dead statistics as these, when properly used, can themselves impart life to the interpretive possibilities one might see for a given text. The very fact that all five semantic categories have at least some clear examples clarifies and expands our syntactical options for the ambiguous passages. A word of caution is in order, however. We have no desire to put the Scriptures into a straitjacket by telling an author what he *must* mean by a particular construction. Dead statistics, unfortunately, are too often employed this way by well-meaning expositors. We must keep in mind that as interpreters of Holy Writ, the apostles are teaching us—not vice versa! But in seeking to understand these authors, we attempt to *discover* the boundaries of what they can mean by investigating the idioms of their language. (Grammar, then, used correctly, is descriptive rather than prescriptive.) Therefore, with reference to the article-noun-kai'-noun construction, the patterns we have seen certainly give us initial *direction* as to the proper interpretation of a passage; but such leanings can be swayed by other exegetical factors. After all, we are speaking about probabilities and tendencies, not certainties, and about grammar alone, not the whole of exegesis.

Ambiguous and Exegetically Significant Texts

Altogether, there are eleven passages which fit the "ambiguous" category,⁵³ four of which also have some particular significance exegetically.⁵⁴ We will briefly examine the seven ambiguous examples whose exegetical significance is minimal, then the four more significant passages.⁵⁵

Ambiguous Passages. In seven instances I could not make a positive identification of the semantics involved in the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction. In Matt 21:12 we read of our Lord entering the temple precincts and driving out "those buying and selling in the temple" (τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ). On the surface, we have two distinct groups united by one article. However, in light of the heretofore unanimous grouping of wholly participial constructions in the "identical" category, a hearing at least ought to be given to such a possibility in this text.⁵⁶ In Luke 15:9 we read of "friends and neighbors" (τὰς φίλας καὶ γείτονας). There is some question as to whether γείτονας is feminine or masculine in form (if the latter, it would still include the female 'neighbors'). More than likely, it is to be taken as feminine. Nevertheless, due to the field of meaning of φίλος,⁵⁷ as well as contextual⁵⁸ and other factors,⁵⁹ it is difficult to come down from the fence for any view dogmatically. Acts 15:2 (= 16:4) speaks of the apostles and elders (τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους). Although ἀποστόλους here seems to be used in its technical sense, it could be argued that all the apostles were elders,

⁵³See Matt 21:12; Luke 15:9; Acts 15:2; 16:4; Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; 1 Tim 4:3; Heb 5:2; 2 Pet 3:16; Rev 11:9.

⁵⁴See Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Heb 5:2.

⁵⁵Obviously, to decide what is and what is not significant is a most subjective endeavor. The basic criterion I have followed in this selection is in two directions— theological and practical. Thus the four passages chosen for the "exegetically significant" category deal with dispensationalism (Eph 2:20; 3:5), soteriology and hamartiology (Heb 5:2), and ecclesiology (Eph 4:11). All of these texts make a significant contribution to our understanding of such doctrines and each one, therefore, has practical ramifications as well.

⁵⁶Jeremias suggests that this phrase ("those who bought and those who sold") "may well have meant cattle dealers (John 2.14)" (*Jerusalem*, 49). It is quite possible that the 'buyers' were not the pilgrims who came to Jerusalem, but were the same as the sellers; the tenor of the passage certainly does not seem to indicate that the common people were among those booted out of the temple area.

⁵⁷See Stählin, "φίλος," *TDNT*, 9. 154.

⁵⁸Cf. Luke 14:12; 15:6.

⁵⁹The parallels in 3 Macc 3:10 and Josephus, *Ant* 18.376, suggest a set phrase, the semantics of which are still elusive. As well, the addition of a second article (τὰς) by A, W, Ψ, families 1 and 13, and the Byzantine mss casts doubt on the authenticity of the construction.

though not all the elders were apostles.⁶⁰ Such a suggestion, however, is based partially on certain ecclesiological beliefs which are beyond the scope of this paper. In 1 Tim 4:3 the apostle Paul speaks of "those who believe"⁶¹ and know the truth" (τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἐπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν). Whatever the truth is here, it would seem impossible to believe it unless one knows it. Questions concerning whether this text is speaking about salvation or a specific situation, and the type of knowledge in view here leave us with two viable options: (1) the first group is a part of the second, or (2) the two are identical. Without further investigation into these questions, we cannot be dogmatic for either position. In 2 Pet 3:16, the apostle gives us his assessment of those who distort Paul's letters: they are ignorant/untaught and unstable (οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστηρίκτοι). Apparently both terms refer to unbelievers,⁶² though the relation of the two groups is ambiguous due to insufficient lexical and contextual data in the NT. Finally, in Rev 11:9 John describes those who observe the corpses of the two witnesses as "from the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations" (ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν). Although it is apparent that "The multitude is composed of those who are connected racially, those who are connected linguistically and those who are connected by customs and laws,"⁶³ this does not entirely solve the problem of identification. If λαός could be construed to be lexically a part of φυλή, then we *might* have each term being a sub-set of the term which follows it. But since this is doubtful, it may be best to view each category as *overlapping* somewhat with the others, resulting in one grand hendiadys for 'the world.'

In comparing the plausible semantics of these seven ambiguous passages with the clearly tagged passages, certain observations can be made. First, in both clear and ambiguous texts, there were *no* noun + noun constructions belonging to the "identical" category. Second, only in Matt 21:12 did we see a wholly participial construction as *possibly* fitting other than the "identical" category. Third, among the ambiguous texts the "first sub-set of second" category was plausible in all but two instances. These ambiguous passages, then, tend to confirm the patterns discovered for the clearly tagged texts and can

⁶⁰On the one hand, in Acts 15:4, 6, 22, and 23 the nouns are separated by an additional article before 'elders,' suggesting that an exact equation is probably not in view. On the other hand, John calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος in 2 John 1 and 3 John 1, though the precise connotation remains in doubt (see BAGD, s.v. "πρεσβύτερος," 2. b. β.). Cf. also 1 Pet 5:1.

⁶¹BAGD, s.v. "πιστός," 2.

⁶²This seems evident from the results predicated of them later in the verse: ἀπώλειαν.

⁶³Rider, "The Granville Sharp Phenomenon and Plurals," 52-53.

help us in determining, at least antecedently, the meaning of the remaining four texts.

Exegetically Significant Passages. Four ambiguous passages carried particular exegetical significance (Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Heb 5:2). In Eph 2:20 Paul declares that the church is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν). If these prophets are OT prophets, as some have affirmed,⁶⁴ Paul may be saying that the church was prophesied in the OT. Since the construction is noun + noun, such a possibility has some syntactical support. However, Paul uses the same construction just a few verses later, in 3:5 (τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις), indicating that the same men are in mind. There he clearly puts the prophets in the present dispensation.⁶⁵ On the other hand, to see the apostles and prophets as identical should also be suspect: (1) this would be the only noun + noun construction which fits the identical category, and (2) in 4:11 Paul separates the two groups (notice especially the μὲν . . . δέ construction). What is the relation of apostles to prophets, then? In all probability, the first is a part of the second; that is, we should understand Eph 2:20 and 3:5 to be referring to the apostles and other NT prophets.⁶⁶

In Heb 5:2 we are told that the high priest was able to deal gently with those who were ignorant and were going astray (τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ πλανωμένοις). Since two participles are used in the construction, the antecedent probability is that one group is in mind. Hughes writes that "The perversity of the human heart is such that, *even if it should be possible* for a person to be free from sins of waywardness, yet no man can claim to be free from sins of ignorance or inadvertency [*italics added*]." ⁶⁷ Although the terms are not identical, they may be referring to different attributes of the same group. In the least, since

⁶⁴See in particular I. J. Habecck, "Who Are the Prophets of Ephesians 2:20?" *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 71 (1974) 121-25.

⁶⁵This assertion does not have to rest on the view that ὥς in 3:5 makes a comparison of kind rather than of degree (though I believe this to be the case; cf. Col 1:26), for the prophets are recipients of the revelation made 'now' (νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη).

⁶⁶There are solid grounds for this view biblico-theologically as well as semantically. Habecck dismisses this view because the term prophet is not used of any of the apostles (Habecck, "Ephesians 2:20," 121), but he errs in making a conceptual-lexical equation. As David Hill ably points out, our concept of NT prophecy must not be restricted to the προφητ- word-group (David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1979], 2-3). Certainly we cannot deny that Paul or John or Peter prophesied!

⁶⁷P. E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 178.

these sins were forgivable, the deliberate sins of 10:26 do not include being led astray (πλανώμενος).⁶⁸

Finally, we turn to the text which occupied us initially: Eph 4:11. There the apostle enumerates the gifted leadership of the church, concluding his list with "the pastors and teachers" (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους). Although most commentaries consider the two terms to refer to one group,⁶⁹ we must emphatically insist that *such a view has no grammatical basis*, even though the writers who maintain this view almost unanimously rest their case on the supposed semantics of the article-noun-καί-noun construction.⁷⁰ Yet, as we have seen, there are no other examples in the NT of this construction with *nouns* in the *plural*, either clearly tagged or ambiguous, which allow for such a possibility. One would, therefore, be on rather shaky ground to insist on such a nuance here— especially if the main weapon in his arsenal is syntax! On the other hand, the insistence of some that the two are entirely distinct is usually based on the same narrow view of the semantic range of this construction (i.e., only the two categories of absolute identity and absolute distinction are normally considered). What is the relation of pastors to teachers, then? It must be readily admitted that the uniting of these two groups by one article sets them apart from the other gifted men. Absolute distinction, then, is probably not in view. In light of the fact that elders and pastors had similar functions in the NT,⁷¹ since elders were to be teachers,⁷² the pastors were also to be teachers. Conversely, not all teachers were said to be pastors.⁷³ This evidence seems to suggest that the ποιμένας were a part of the διδασκάλους in Eph 4:11. This possibility is in keeping with the semantics of the construction, for the "first sub-set of the second" category is well attested in both the clear and ambiguous texts in the NT. Although one cannot be dogmatic, there is a high probability that, according to Eph 4:11, all pastors are to be teachers, though not all teachers are to be pastors.

CONCLUSION

I have sought to demonstrate that the syntax of the article-noun-καί-noun plural construction has been largely misunderstood. It does

⁶⁸The ramifications of 5:2 and 10:26 for the doctrines of salvation and sanctification are manifold. Not only has God forgiven our waywardness, but he forgives it still.

⁶⁹See n. 1.

⁷⁰See n. 1.

⁷¹See Malphurs, "Pastors and Teachers," 46–53.

⁷²Ibid., 52–53. Of course, that an elder should be able to teach does not necessarily indicate that he had the *gift* of teaching.

⁷³Ibid., 41–46.

not fit the Granville Sharp rule since the nouns are plural. Nor is its semantic range shut up to absolute distinction or absolute identity. By an exhaustive treatment of the construction in the NT, we discovered that there are three other semantic possibilities, in particular the first noun could be a part of the second. A proper semantic grid has helped us in seeing possibilities in certain texts which have hitherto gone unnoticed and in omitting certain options on the basis of syntax which have been assumed true. Further exegetical work still needs to be done in many passages which have this construction, but it cannot proceed unless the starting point is a proper understanding of the semantic range of this construction in the NT.

CONTEXTUALIZATION IN MISSIONS: A BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL APPRAISAL*

RICHARD W. ENGLE

Evangelical missiologists have debated the validity of using the term "contextualization" in cross-cultural ministries. This article explores the matter from the perspective of one who is not a missiologist but is concerned about world-wide church planting. The recent history of the term is surveyed and the concept is traced through selected events in biblical history. While the term as originated is encumbered with problems, the basic concept has significant strengths. "Contextualization" may be defined as showing the whole Bible to be relevant to the total individual in all his relationships of life. The term is appropriate to use in an informed, biblical manner in relation to separatist missionary effort.

INTRODUCTION

UNITY and diversity as a complementary pair are inherent in the trinitarian God. The one God (unity) brought into being a variegated creation (diversity) and the two are in complementary relationship. In Gen 1:31 God evaluated his creation, "Very good!" These seeming opposites, unity and diversity, also complement each other in the first social institution—"and *they* shall be *one* flesh" (Gen 2:23, 24).

Tension between unity and diversity asserted itself in the fall, demonstrating man's desire to be like God, not different from him. The recently coined term "contextualization," current in missiology, mirrors this as a tension between traditional formulations of doctrine (i.e., traditional unity) and contemporary applications of biblical

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truth in the variegated creation (contemporary diversity). Part of the problem may be a tendency to view tradition as radically distinct from current application, rather than as the opposite end of a continuum.

"Contextualization" is a new word, although contextualization has taken place from the time of the fall. Throughout history, fall-plagued minds have distorted what is good in both the idea and its implementation. This paper explores and evaluates "contextualization" as a current concept in missiology. Part I summarizes the history of the term and offers a definition. Part II traces aspects of contextualization as a biblical idea. Part III identifies stages of the concept and suggests controls over the process. In general, this study attempts to set contextualization within a biblical and theological frame of reference.

PART I. CONTEXTUALIZATION: THE TERM

Contextualization as a term in missions arose in the historical context of an emerging third world. During the past 50 years these countries have obtained political independence. As they struggle for economic independence, they increasingly assert their cultural identity.

In some countries the quest for "cultural identity" is sought, not on ideological terms, as in Marxist revolts, but in the realm of religious concerns. The resurgent political power of Islam is an example.¹ In countries where the government exercises overt economic control, the church's role in such concerns as health and education is often challenged by the government.²

Rapid urbanization increases both affluence and poverty, resulting in a variety of alienations which challenge the ability of the individual Christian and the local church to cope and grow.³ Liberalism was the earliest religious voice to call significant attention to the problems which these phenomena create for church mission. Eventually, liberals coined "contextualization" as the term describing a way to respond to the phenomena. This section surveys the history of the term and provides a definition.

History of the Term

The International Missionary Conference (established in 1921: hereafter IMC) was an outgrowth of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference. In 1947 the IMC worked with the emerging World Council of

"Your Kingdom Come," a pamphlet published by the World Conference on Mission and Evangelism, n.d., 18.

²Ibid., 19.

³Ibid.

Churches (hereafter WCC) in the Whitby Conference. By this time the tension between "mother churches" and "younger churches" had been resolved by speaking of all churches as "partners in obedience."⁴

At New Delhi in 1961, the IMC became the Committee on World Missions and Evangelism (hereafter CWME) of the WCC. The CWME Bangkok Conference of 1972-73 focused on the "theological imperialism" of the West and provided a platform for "affirming the right of every Christian and every church to cultural identity." This conference urged the non-Western churches to formulate their own response to God's calling "in a theology, a liturgy, a praxis, a form of community, rooted in their own culture."⁵

It is evident that the WCC did confront at a theoretical level the need for a church that was indigenous to the receiving culture. The concept of contextualization was brought into focus at a WCC "consultation on 'Dogmatic or Contextual Theology' in 1971."⁶ The consultation chairman wrote concerning the technology-induced crisis in mission:

The effect . . . has been to lead to a kind of "contextual or experiential" theology which gives preference at the point of departure for systematic theological thinking to the contemporary historical scene over against Biblical tradition and confessional statements constructed on the basis of Biblical texts . . .⁷

Obviously, this is existential contextualization.

Shoki Coe, the General Director of the Theological Education Fund (hereafter TEF), a WCC agency, gave birth to the term contextualization, according to Aharon Sapsezian.

Shoki and I began to use this word sometime in February, 1972. Long before that Shoki was famous for using the phrase, "Text and Context," and he was pleading for contextual criticism as a necessary counterpart of textual criticism. In a sense this is the prehistory of the words "contextuality" and "contextualization." The discussions in the house around these two words were that we should go beyond the older notion of "indigenization," in the sense that theology would take into account certain aspects of the culture which had been hitherto neglected, such as the social and economic dimensions.⁸

⁴Ibid., see p. 3 for these expressions.

⁵Ibid., 5.

⁶David J. Hesselgrave, "Contextualization Continuum" (hereafter, "Continuum") *The Gospel in Context* 2:3 (1979), 4.

⁷Ibid. Cited on p. 4 from Bruce C. E. Fleming, "Contextualization of Theology as Evidenced in Africa in the Writings of John Samuel Mbiti" (an unpublished Th.M. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1977) 9.

⁸F. Ross Kinsler, "Mission and Context: The Current Debate About Contextualization," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 14:1 (1978) 24.

At Lausanne (1974) Kato said,

This is a new term imported into theology to express a deeper concept than indigenization ever does. We understand the term to mean making concepts or ideals relevant in a given situation. In reference to Christian practices, it is an effort to express the never changing Word of God in ever changing modes of relevance. Since the Gospel message is inspired but the mode of its expression is not, contextualization of the modes of expression is not only right but necessary.⁹

The general concept has been implemented in varying degrees throughout church history. Many church planters from the faith missions which arose in the past 150 years have sought to establish indigenous, encultured churches. At times the missionary himself did not realize that he was in fact imposing upon the target culture an institutional form which was neither mandated by the Bible nor in the best interests of the emerging church in the long term. More incisive attention to the dynamic of cultural context might have facilitated the spread of biblical Christianity in some areas.

"Contextualization" has been taken up by missionaries influenced by the Lausanne conference, and the term is used in current literature by evangelical missiologists. Evangelical missionaries are consciously seeking to implement its implications.

Definition of the Term

Liberalism. For liberals, contextualization in missions is basically a theological idea growing out of their total perspective. As noted above, the contemporary experience controls both biblical and confessional theology.¹⁰

Shoki Coe believes that contextualization includes indigenization, but is more dynamic and features openness to change as a key factor. The full sociological mosaic defines and conditions the proclamation of the Gospel and response to it. "Contextualization has to do with how we assess the peculiarity of third world contexts. . . . (It) takes into account the process of secularity, technology and the struggle for human justice . . ."¹¹

This approach presumes "a genuine encounter between God's Word and His world."¹² It seeks to change the socio-economic plight by "rootedness in . . . (the) given historical moment" and leading the

⁹Byang H. Kato, "The Gospel, Cultural Context and Religious Syncretism," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, ed. by J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications) 1217.

¹⁰Hesselgrave, "Continuum," 4.

¹¹"Your Kingdom Come," 18.

¹²"Your Kingdom Come," 19.

populace out of their plight.¹³ The liberal idea assumes that God is doing something redemptive in the target culture—that he is fashioning deliverance from the socio-economic bondage in which the multitudes of the third world find themselves.

De Santa Ana says, "The contextualization of theological reflection means opting for a particular social context, that which is low, at the base of the social pyramid."¹⁴ Such an option "means opposing oppression rather than confirming the powerful in oppressing other social sectors."¹⁵ The contextualizer's task, then, is to enter the culture, discern what God is doing, and work with God to bring about the change which God is (supposedly) fashioning.

Liberalism is concerned about "pursuing truth" by dialogue. Participants come from the major religions of the world. The goal is to achieve "a new . . . interfaith spirituality," "a convergent humanity." Biblical revelation is only one of many religious sources from which to draw.¹⁶

Neoliberalism. Claiming biblical revelation and Christian tradition as its foundation, Neoliberalism addresses questions raised by the present milieu. Its method is "'enlightened' response to the human predicament." The theologian seeks to proclaim the profound meaning of historical events. The kingdom of God is discovered by "making the world a better place."¹⁷ Gutierrez calls the result "a political hermeneutics of the Gospel."¹⁸

Neoliberalism and neoorthodoxy are similar in that they both build on the premise that the primary source for theology is "the current historical context." The former asserts the importance of the theologian in formulating theology, while the latter professes to feature the Spirit of God, who illumines the theologian. Human need is the controlling factor for the former, but for the latter, it is the occasioning factor in theologizing. For both, the method for theologizing is to discern truth by experiencing the "tension between living history and the Word of God." The result will be spiritual understanding and identity with Christ.¹⁹

Evangelicalism. Evangelicals offer a variety of definitions. For Peters, contextualization means to discover and implement the legitimate implications of a biblical text. Applications are suggested but not required by a text, whereas implications are demanded by the

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., 25.

¹⁶Hesselgrave, "Continuum," 8.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., 10.

text.²⁰ Archer sees contextualization as the missionary setting forth his message in the most attractive, culturally suitable form he can devise. Beals simply says, "contextualization is an effort to make the message of the Bible relevant in a given culture."²¹ The catch word here may be "effort." It is natural for a person (e.g., a missionary) to take his own pre-understanding of a subject for granted.

Nunez cautions that "to contextualize is not to change the message, but rather to apply it to every dimension of our personality and to all the relationships in our life."²² Yego rejects popular definitions of contextualization and suggests that it means "making something applicable to the life situation in which one finds himself . . . [to] clarify to the people or make it applicable to their particular situation."²³ Contextualization means "the never changing Word of God in ever-changing modes of relevance."²⁴

Summary. Like most terms, "contextualization" is susceptible to as many nuances of meaning as there are people who employ the term. Liberalism's efforts at least sensitize us anew to the desperate socio-economic conditions of unreached billions. They remind us that these conditions acutely affect "how people hear." Further, neo-orthodox writers advocate a form of contextualization that is vigorously consistent with their basic theological commitments in such areas as soteriology, anthropology, and revelation. The consistency is praiseworthy, although the doctrinal base for neo-orthodoxy must be rejected.

Evangelicals properly leave references to specific socio-economic conditions out of their definitions because contextualization is necessary for each stratum of society in every culture. Peters' definition tends to draw attention to the *transcultural demands* of the Bible. Archer emphasizes communicating truth in *culturally attractive forms*. Beals requires the communication of the *whole Bible*. Nunez explicitly recognizes the *total relationships* of the *whole man*.

In summary, contextualization in missions is showing the whole Bible relevant to the total individual in all of life's relationships. The

²⁰Cited by Hesselgrave in "Continuum," 5, from George W. Peters, "Issues Confronting Evangelical Missions," in *Evangelical Missions Tomorrow*, ed. by W. T. Coggins and E. L. Frizen, Jr. (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977) 169.

²¹Paul A. Beals, "Contextualization: Bane or Boon?" Unpublished paper, n.d., pp. 1-2.

²²Emilio Antonio Nunez, "Contextualization . . . Latin American Theology," *Latin American Pulse* 11:2 (Wheaton, IL: Evangelical Missions Information Service, 1976) cited by Paul A. Beals, "Contextualization: Bane or Boon?," 2.

²³Josphat K. Yego, "Appreciation for and Warnings About Contextualization," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 16:3 (1980) 156.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 154. In effect, Yego combines the definitions proposed by Beals and Nunez.

process must be deliberate. The sequence for accomplishment must be worked out while one plans his initial thrust into the target culture.

PART II. CONTEXTUALIZATION: THE TERM IN BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE

Contextualization should be defined as showing the whole Bible relevant to the total individual in all his relationships of life. This section outlines biblical bases for a rigorous application of the idea. The approach will be to select materials in the approximate order in which God inscripturated them, i.e., in the order of progressive revelation.

Genesis 1-11

The first command. One might argue that the issue of contextualization was introduced at the moment Adam first experienced personhood. The infinite God created finite man and then communicated with him in "finite" ways, i.e., ways which allowed man to internalize and live out God's message. It is clear from Gen 1:26ff. that God intended man to dominate, appreciate, and utilize the environment which God prepared for him. The fall included the first instance of man abdicating to his environment against the explicit Word of God.²⁵ It occasioned radical changes in the content, means, and forms of divine communication, due to the change in the receptors.

The Noahic Covenant. The perverted mind which gave priority to the creature's thoughts rather than those of the Creator precipitated the flood crisis (Gen 6:5-7). God permitted that mind-set to be entrenched in the post-flood world (Gen 8:21). God also reiterated the original mandate to man to dominate his environment, but some new controls were introduced, including capital punishment and, by implication, attendant political processes (Gen 9:1-6ff.). Another change which intensified the hostility within the environment was a dietary addition. Ultimately this permission to eat flesh formed the broad background for Paul's metaphor describing interpersonal relationships among "believers" (Gal 5:15). The adverse effects of the inter-relationships between perverted thinking and hostility among creatures mushroomed.

The Tower of Babel. Instead of filling the earth (Gen 9:1), the population gravitated together in a deliberate attempt at urbanization. The tower was ultimately an attempt to dethrone God (Gen 11:1-9) and the unity of language (with a corollary of broad cultural unity)

²⁵Bruce J. Nicholls, "Towards a Theology of Gospel and Culture," in *Down to Earth*, ed. by Robert T. Coote and John R. W. Stott (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 56. For NT commentary on societal upheaval as in Genesis 3-11, see Romans 1-2.

was abused. The divine judgment at Babel immediately accounts for the linguistic, ethnological, and political diversity in the world (Gen 10:5, 20, 31). Growing directly out of the tower of Babel are many problems of cross-cultural communication. The issue of contextualization in the proclamation of God's message begins to crystallize in Genesis 10 and 11.

Genesis 12–Malachi 4

Abraham. Abraham was a child of his environment. Sometimes, although chosen by God to be a recipient of paradigmatic revelation from God, in moral obstinance, he wrongly conformed to his environment (Genesis 12, 16).²⁶ At other times, with apparent divine approval, he utilized local customs (Genesis 23) and military conventions (Genesis 14). In the latter episode, Abraham himself significantly rejected a particular practice, but did not impose his personal conviction upon his companions (Gen 14:21–24). God dealt with Abraham within his cultural context, and his faith matured within the same context (e.g., cf. Gen 12:1–3 with Gen 22:15–19). Several other OT individuals experienced their relationship with God in a similar way. Although the Lord intended that his people represent him to the nations (Exod 19:5 and perhaps Isa 43:8–10), with few exceptions, transcultural outreach with God's message was never characteristic of Israel.²⁷

The nation. OT contributions to contextualization are mostly negative. The persons cited, with the exception of a few true prophets and others, failed to demonstrate how to live godly lives in the real world. For instance, Abraham compromised the character of God, as at Pharaoh's court. What was occasional in the account of Abraham became characteristic of the nation. Abraham compromised outwardly in the moral and civil realm, but compromise by the nation was demonstrably rooted in theological syncretism (Josh 24:2, 15; Hos 2:8–13).²⁸

The Ministry of Christ

The Babylonian captivity "cured" Israel of syncretism between Yahwism and polytheistic idolatry.²⁹ During intertestamental times an intense devotion to the Torah matured. By the time of Christ a

²⁶Gleason L. Archer, "Contextualization: Some Implications from Land and Witness in the Old Testament," in *New Horizons in World Mission*, ed. by David J. Hesselgrave (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 200–202.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 200.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 200–201.

²⁹Charles F. Pfeiffer, *Exile and Return* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1962) 124–25.

new and more subtle syncretism flourished under the Pharisees, whereby they confused the traditions of men with the commandments of God in the name of fidelity to God.³⁰

Christ is the classic example of contextualization of God's message without compromise. By means of the incarnation God perfectly contextualized his communication (cf. Hebrews 1-2). He met his target culture where it was and as it was in the man Christ Jesus, his sinless Son (Heb 2:9-18; 4:15).

John 3. John 3 and 4 illustrate the particularity of Christ's approach. A key to the juxtaposition of these accounts seems to be in John 2:23-25. The passage may be charted in free translation:

Many believed (ἐπίστευσαν) into his name (2:23).

Jesus was not entrusting (ἐπίστευεν) himself to them because he knew all (2:24).

He had no need that any inform him concerning man (i.e., "tell him what people were like") because he knew all.

He himself knew what was in man (i.e., "he understood human nature").³¹

The last word of John 2 and the third word of John 3 is "man" (ἄνθρωπος); then the episode with Nicodemus follows. Having emphasized Christ's knowledge of human nature in the final verses of chap. 2, John proceeds to show how Jesus, the Jew, confronts the leading Jewish rabbi. It is sufficient to observe that Christ deals with the man on the basis of an informed biblical anthropology. He utilized the role of a Jewish rabbi, a role common in the cultural milieu he shared with Nicodemus.

John 4. The next episode presents Christ communicating in a limited cross-cultural setting. His knowledge of the Samaritan woman explicitly demonstrates either prophetic insight, or perhaps is an instance of his omniscience (John 4:19, 29, 39). He neither ignores nor offends her cultural sensitivities, nor does he compromise his message. Beginning the conversation by putting himself in the woman's debt (4:7), he concludes with a forthright claim for his message. This claim shows that her religion is hollow (John 4:22ff.).

All accounts of such events in the life of Christ show that he was the Perfect Proclaimer. Some pertinent examples from John 2:23-4:26 include a command of a working biblical anthropology; a functional appreciation and utilization of the cultural context of the audience; and a sufficient command of the basic message to allow the

³⁰Archer, in *New Horizons*, 212; cf. Mark 7:6-13.

³¹J. B. Phillips, *The Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1952) 193.

messenger to use a variety of metaphors and facts.³² Contextualizing the message for an individual, as in John 3 and 4, suggests ways of doing the same for a population.

The Great Commission. Christ commands global proclamation of the gospel by his apostles and their converts (John 17:18–21; Matt 28:19–20). The pattern for proclamation was anticipated by God's first command to man, "Be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen 1:28a). The first three imperatives are repeated in the Noahic Covenant, and at that point the imperatives assume all the implications of the fall (cf. Gen 8:20–9:1). Since the earth is to be filled with depraved people, it is not surprising that the savior wants his followers to go so as to disciple people in all nations (ἐθνῶν; Matt 28:19).³³

Acts 2–14

Acts 2. Acts 2 portends needs and patterns for contextualization of the Christian gospel. The miraculous gift of speech enabled 120 Jews to communicate the gospel in as many as fifteen different languages (Acts 1:15; 2:8–11). The most obvious principle is that people need to hear the gospel in their own language.

Acts 6. Acts 6 suggests an additional consideration. The Hellenistic Jews complained that their widows were being slighted. The congregation selected Hellenistic Jews to supervise the table ministry. This was a psychologically adroit move approved by the Spirit of God.

Acts 7–8. Saul, with relatively strong ties to the Judaic, Greek, and Roman world, was "impressed" with the gospel in Acts 7 and 8. In time these ties would facilitate his adeptness at contextualizing the message. Phillip, the Hellenistic deacon, evangelized some Samaritans and an Ethiopian court official. These instances illustrate the rapid ripple effect. Reaching key people, who may be bilingual and

³²This treatment of Christ's contacts with Nicodemus and the woman assumes Christ's full deity. The discussion is couched in "limiting" terms in order to emphasize reachable skills.

³³The cross-cultural phenomena implicit in worldwide evangelism are strikingly embedded in the four-fold societal factors, repeated three times in Genesis 10. The LXX specifies the *land* (γῆ), the *language* (γλῶσσαν), the *people* (φυλαίς, i.e., *ethnic group*), the *nation* (ἐθνεσιν, i.e., "The multitude bound together by like habits, customs, peculiarities," in brief, perhaps a *political entity*). The geographical, linguistic, ethnic, and political factors are emphasized in Gen 10:5, 20, 31. The root ἐθνός- is the same as the one attributed to Christ in Matt 28:19. For ἐθνός-, see Hermann Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, 4th edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895) 226–27. For φυλή see G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937) 475.

bicultural, minimizes some of the problems of contextualizing by E-2 or E-3³⁴ evangelists.

Acts 10. Peter's traumatic foray into cross-cultural evangelism to reach Cornelius demonstrates the need for cultural flexibility. This may include subjugating well-entrenched cultural and ritual preferences for the good of gospel outreach. Such subjugation for Peter was controlled by special revelation.

Acts 11; 13:1-3. At Antioch, Jewish believers from Jerusalem were reaching Jews. Hellenistic believers from Cyprus and Cyrene, by way of Jerusalem, were reaching Greeks. This resulted in a "biracial" church with significant Gentile tendencies and the consequent problems (Acts 11:19-21). For some obvious reasons, the Jerusalem church dispatched Barnabas, a Levite born in Cyprus (Acts 11:22; 4:36). Barnabas in turn sought Saul, whose qualifications for cross-cultural communication are suggested above. When the Holy Spirit selected Saul and Barnabas for their first mission to Galatia, the Antioch leaders probably considered the choice to be neither accidental nor mystical, but reasonable. This dramatic penetration with the gospel was spearheaded by men who had demonstrated an ability to relate to the multi-cultural settings of the target areas.

Acts 13:4-14:28. The first stops on the initial journey were at opposite ends of Cyprus. Common ground for contextualization was found in 1) the local Jewish population and 2) Barnabas' connection with the territory. At Pisidian Antioch, the initial contact was in a synagogue which had a mixed audience of Israelites and God-fearers, i.e., proselytized Gentiles.³⁵ The content of the message was Israelite history leading up to the advent, death, and resurrection of Messiah. The audience was assumed to have some knowledge of the OT.

At Iconium Paul and Barnabas followed the same pattern and received an interracial response (Acts 14:1), but persecution drove them out of town. At Lystra the team encountered a large number who worshipped the Greek pantheon and thought Paul and Barnabas were gods incarnate. Paul and Barnabas sought to contextualize the gospel (Acts 14:15), so instead of appealing to Israel's history, they

³⁴See C. Peter Wagner and Edward R. Dayton, eds., *Unreached Peoples '80* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1980) as follows: E-1 evangelism is mono-cultural evangelism. E-2 and E-3 indicate cross-cultural evangelism of increasing degrees of differences between the evangelist and his target (p. 379). E-2 or 3 is the initial missionary task force (cf. Paul at Thessalonica). This is a pioneering team whose objective is to win a circle of converts and begin to teach them in a way that is properly contextualized for their culture. This should be considered the nurturing stage. Such a church should be nurtured until the missionary task can be completed by E-1 methods (pp. 8-9).

³⁵F. F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958) 100. See also Acts 13:16, 43.

appealed to cosmology, world history, and common grace in the Bible. They were sensitive to the aspect of the biblical message most suitable for leading up to the gospel. This is broadly similar to Christ's approach to Nicodemus and then to the Samaritan woman.

Paul and Barnabas' own persecutions, evident to their audiences in South Galatia, gave credibility to their teachings about suffering and the Christian life (Acts 14:22). The structure of church organization was apparently simple and readily understood by the local respondents to the gospel.³⁶ Whatever characterized the apostolic approach and whatever their expectations for maturity in new converts, churches were established with a striking quickness.³⁷

Acts 15

Salvation and circumcision. The incipient interracial conflict of Acts 6 had gone beyond its local "meals for widows" problem. By the time of Acts 15, non-proselyte Gentiles had come into the circle of faith in distant places. Fundamental theological issues had been raised. The question was, "What is the saving gospel?" Some converted Pharisees included circumcision as part of the gospel (Acts 15:1, 5). Circumcision was also representative of other regulations (Acts 15:10, 19).

Doctrinal clarity and cultural deference. The cities reached by Apostolic witness all had a pocket of Jews. James insisted that salvation is by grace apart from works of the law (Acts 15:11, 19). He did recommend that the biracial churches contextualize their stance in deference to the Jewish element so that Jews could thereby be won to the gospel. Ericson verbalizes the two-pronged impact of this decision:

The early Jerusalem church gave recognition to *two different contexts*. The first is the context of Jewish Christians who continued to observe the customs of Moses. The second context is the mixed community comprised . . . [of Jews and Gentiles] in fellowship on compromise terms.³⁸

Now all believers would be of equal status and enjoy full fellowship.³⁹ This is a model for crossing cultural barriers so that the message can

³⁶Ibid., 97, 104.

³⁷W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of Saint Paul* (Hartford, CT: S. S. Scranton, 1914) 176, 895. Comparing Conybeare's data, churches on the first missionary journey were apparently established in less than one year.

³⁸Norman R. Ericson, "Implications from the New Testament for Contextualization," in *Theology and Mission*, ed. by David J. Hesselgrave (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978) 75.

³⁹Ibid., adapted.

be contextualized. Without compromising Bible truth, two cultures had been molded. A certain deference was accorded the "weaker brethren," i.e., the Christian Jews.

Right practice and cultural sensitivity. Things contaminated by idols would offend Jews, who were strict monotheists, but also presumably would be offensive to non-Jewish adherents to biblical faith. Fornication is always immoral. Abstinence from meat killed by strangulation was a Jewish dietary provision, probably related to abstinence from blood.⁴⁰ Abstinence from blood, while taken up into Mosaism, applies to all descendants of Noah (Gen 9:4). Thus, James is not advocating regulations which are merely Jewish, but rather regulations germane to a biblical world view. However, the Jews were particularly sensitive in these matters. Bruce summarizes James' part:

... and it was in considerable part thanks to James' practical wisdom that a serious problem which might have brought an unbridgeable cleavage in primitive Christianity, was settled in a spirit of concord.⁴¹

Acts 15 and the Epistle of James. The James of Acts 15 was probably the author of the epistle of James. That letter, so reminiscent of Israel's wisdom tradition, with its universalizing of godliness, breathes the same spirit as is evident in James' leadership of the Jerusalem Council. The epistle may both complement and supplement Acts 15 as a guide for contextualization. The epistle may also be useful in a sense similar to that suggested for 1 Corinthians 13 (see p. 105 below).

1 Corinthians, Colossians, Philemon

Meaning of behavior. 1 Corinthians 8–10 is cast in a context in which the congregation is basically Gentile. This was a third kind of context in comparison with the two-fold context of Acts 15.⁴² The Corinthian issue of "food offered to idols" was addressed after the Jerusalem letter began circulating (Acts 15:23ff.).⁴³ At Corinth Paul

⁴⁰Bruce, *Spreading Flame*, 109.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 105.

⁴²The two contexts in Acts 15 are 1) the Jewish context and 2) a Jewish-Gentile context. The context at Corinth is basically Gentile.

⁴³The intuitive model of interpretation would take no notice of this fact. See Rene Padilla, "Hermeneutics and Culture: A Theological Perspective," in *Down to Earth*, eds. Coote and Stott. To summarize Padilla, the intuitive model draws immediate personal application from the biblical text for the life of the interpreter. There is no particular concern to describe the biblical context of the passage (pp. 64–66). An implicit strength of this approach is that it views the Bible as immediately useful to the literate non-specialist individual; however, the approach is susceptible to allegorizations which have no demonstrable connection with the text.

made no appeal to that letter because the particulars here were of strictly Gentile concern. His appeal was to transdispensational truth. Idols are nonentities (1 Cor 8:4) and no food has "intrinsic religious value."⁴⁴ The implication is that any food can be eaten by anyone (cf. 1 Cor 8:9). Further, the Lord's table is "authentically what the idol banquet purports to be" (1 Cor 10:16).⁴⁵ The conclusions which Paul draws may be summarized: 1) Christians *may* eat meat offered to idols—in an absolute sense, the culture notwithstanding (cf. 1 Cor 10:19); 2) Christians must not eat in idol temples, i.e., more broadly, they must flee from idolatry (1 Cor 10:14, 21). Thus Paul has evaluated a cultural phenomenon on the basis of explicit biblical revelation. Whether a Christian should exercise his liberty in this cultural issue is determined by the "meaning and effect" such participation would have on the unsaved, the weaker brother, or his own conscience.⁴⁶ If the *meaning* of a particular behavior is intrinsically contrary to biblical revelation, it is forbidden.

Biblical and cultural norms. Paul utilized the cultural context in the case of incest at Corinth. In addition to stating a *revelational absolute*, that incest is immoral for all believers (1 Cor 5:1, 9), he called attention to a *cultural norm* of that society, which forbade incest. This implies that aspects of contemporary ethical systems should be employed when the ethical factor agrees with biblical standards. Some common ground between a foreign culture and biblical absolutes may readily be apparent, while other dimensions of common ground in that same culture may surface only after effort to understand the culture. The issue here is not common ground between the target culture and the messenger's culture, but common ground between target culture and biblical absolutes.⁴⁷

Spiritual and social equality in Christ. In 1 Corinthians Paul confronted several issues of immediate relevance to the local assembly. In the letters to the Colossians and Philemon, he addressed two sides of a societal matter as it affected the Christian community. Greco-Roman society categorized members of households as wives, husbands, children, fathers, slaves, and masters. Paul addressed each of these in his letters, but says the most to slaves. As a result, the equalizing gospel (Gal 3:28) was misconstrued by some convert slaves so that they became inappropriately aggressive. The apostle cautioned that Christ will deal with unjust masters. While the slaves are to be

⁴⁴Ericson, "Implications," 75. Note also that Paul's appeal in 1 Corinthians 8 is to biblical cosmology and anthropology, as in Acts 14 at Lystra.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., 76.

⁴⁷I am indebted to Ericson, "Implications," 76–77, for the substance of this paragraph.

submissive (Col 3:25), the Christian master must treat the converted slave as a brother, both spiritually and socially (Phlm 16-23).⁴⁸

Summary

This summary outlines principles and observations from the preceding biblical survey of factors which facilitate contextualization. Dangers in the contextualizing process are also included. The method is to list the factors as they surfaced in the survey.

Genesis 1-11. Man under God must control his environment (including his response to culture) and must not be controlled by that environment. The perverted mind develops a culture that is both useful and abhorrent. Immorality and physical hostility must be rejected, and multifaceted cultural differences must be acknowledged.

Genesis 12-Malachi 4. Sinful cultural practices must be rejected, while "neutral" practices may be utilized. Individualized practices of "living faith" are allowable, but should not be imposed upon others. Cultural conformity may be a symptom of theological syncretism.

The ministry of Christ. Cultural differences in individuals should be learned and utilized with discernment to advance the gospel. The message should be mastered so well that it can be communicated in culturally relevant ways without compromising its meaning.

Acts 2-14. Circumstances at Pentecost demonstrated the need for crossing the language barrier, while Acts 6-8 suggests the advisability of reaching new targets with servants who have roots in both the sending and target cultures. Peter had to adopt a stance of cultural flexibility controlled by specific revelation. Paul and Barnabas were sent to new regions partly because they had demonstrated their effectiveness in multi-racial settings. As they pursued their mission, they sought appropriate "common ground" as points of contact. They encouraged organizational structure that was readily acceptable to and usable by the local group.

Acts 15. The cause, means, and authority for salvation must be clearly distinguished from culture and ceremony. Doctrinal clarity must not be sacrificed in deference to culture, but cultural factors which are doctrinally neutral should be utilized. Furthermore, it should be remembered that what seem to be cultural factors may have roots in universal teachings of Scripture.

1 Corinthians, Colossians, and Philemon. Specific acts of behavior may have varying significance in different locations. Cultural standards should be exploited for the gospel when they coincide with biblical norms. The practice of spiritual and social equality in Christ will facilitate legitimate contextualization of the message.

⁴⁸Ibid., 77, adapted.

PART III. CONTEXTUALIZATION: AN EVALUATION OF USEFULNESS

Validity of the Term

A mixed value. Like many words in theological and missiological jargon,⁴⁹ "contextualization" is not a biblical word, and it is a fluid word. Just as words such as "election," "repent," "missionary," "witness" and "call" mean what the user means, so it is with "contextualization." Buswell has rightfully cautioned against discarding the word "indigenization," but he sees some value in the newer word.⁵⁰

A liberal origin. Liberals apparently gave birth to the word and associated it with socio-economic unrest. They may use the terms basic to classic fundamentalism in connection with "contextualization," but they empty those terms of their biblical and orthodox meanings and infuse them with new meanings. However, in spite of its origin, "contextualization" seems to be a useful term.

A proposed definition. "Contextualization is showing the whole Bible relevant to the total individual in all his relationships of life." This does go beyond indigenization.⁵¹ When planting the gospel in new soil, the goal is to affect the total life of the society. Intermediate goals include 1) salvation and spiritual growth of individuals, 2) the effect of the saved on their families and community, 3) the establishment of a local church that meets the criteria of the NT with respect to definition, structure, function, and program, and 4) a biblical relationship between the saved and the social institutions of the target culture. The proposed definition assumes a thoroughgoing biblical anthropology that goes beyond a "trichotomy vs. dichotomy" discussion or a definition of personality as "a being who possesses intellect, emotion, and will."

Biblical Basis for the Term

The Bible survey in Part II has shown the need for 1) meeting the sinner where he is, 2) leading and equipping the saved person to become what God desires, and 3) challenging the saved person to live

⁴⁹ *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: C. & C. Merriam, 1953) 451, under "jargon," c. "The technical . . . vocabulary of a science . . . sect . . . or other special group."

⁵⁰ J. Oliver Buswell, III, "Contextualization: Theory, Tradition and Method," in *Theology and Mission*, ed. by David J. Hesselgrave (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978) 93-95, 106.

⁵¹ This is particularly so if "indigenization" focuses primarily on the church organization rather than on the people. For a discussion of some problems with the term "indigenous" see Edward R. Dayton and David A. Fraser, *Planning Strategies for World Evangelization* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 357-58.

a godly life within the target culture. Contextualization attempts to realize this three-fold purpose in stages.

*Stages of Contextualization*⁵²

If the gospel is contextualized, then its clothing is the everyday life of its recipients. There are six identifiable stages of contextualization. The suggested order is logical, but in fact the stages are interwoven.

Penetration. The pattern in the early church indicates that a first contact (penetration) was by someone who had significant cultural ties with the target. The gospel must be spoken in the idiom of the district. Acts 17 is a possible guide to the components of the initial message: God, personal and transcendent (24, 26, 29), the Creator (24–26), man the creature (26), man in need of God and repentance (27, 30), righteous judgment to come, God's Man, Jesus, his death and resurrection (18, 31).⁵³

Translation. The Bible is the absolute standard (cf. Isa 8:20), the saving message (Rom 10:17), and food for growth (1 Pet 2:2; Heb 5:13, 14). NT use of the LXX illustrates the need to contextualize the message by translation. Two basic theories of Bible translation prevail. Formal correspondence seeks to stay as close to the grammar and idiom of the source as possible, whereas dynamic equivalence translation is more free.⁵⁴ The translator seeks to recombine "the meanings of the Bible . . ." in such a way that the resulting combination 1) gets across the essential meanings in the source language and 2) stimulates a response in the hearer of the translation equivalent to that which resulted from the original hearing.⁵⁵

The latter approach is more contextualized, but more apt to misconstrue the God-breathed text. The former risks being nonsensical to the receptor. Translation should tend towards formal correspondence, while explanation must have dynamic equivalence.

Information. The informational stage recalls the penetration and intensifies instruction in basics. The communication should adapt

⁵²I have relied heavily upon the structure and materials in Ericson for this discussion. See Ericson, "Implications," 79–81.

⁵³See also J. I. Packer, "The Gospel: Its Content and Communication," in *Down to Earth*, eds. Coote and Stott, 110–11. Packer suggests as basic topics: "God our Maker, man's sin, Christ, faith, repentance, discipleship, new life, new relationships, and new goals."

⁵⁴Charles H. Kraft, "Dynamic Equivalence Churches in Muslim Society," in *The Gospel and Islam: A 1978 Compendium*, ed. by Don M. McCurry (Monrovia, CA: Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center, 1979) 119.

⁵⁵Dayton and Fraser, *Planning Strategies*, 360.

rigorously to the Bible and to "the sentence structures . . . (and) national and ideological patterns of the community."⁵⁶

Indoctrination. The indoctrination stage attempts to cover major doctrinal themes. It begins to implement and inculturate the implications of "all Scripture is . . . profitable for doctrine . . ." (2 Tim 3:16; NASB translates the noun as "teaching"). The amount of doctrine covered and the depth of exegesis must be in graduated stages within this phase. Some "niceties of thought . . . characteristic of the Gospel" are appropriate here.⁵⁷ Ericson understandably favors his own area of expertise in implying that the NT is the text at this stage.⁵⁸ However, Genesis 1-3 is marked by simplicity of expression.⁵⁹ It fleshes out by means of "character and story the values and conflicts that are central" to interpersonal relationships between God and man, man and man, and man and Satan.⁶⁰ It immediately brings the creation motif to the surface. Paul used this in the early stage of his gospel proclamation among people who had no knowledge of biblical revelation.⁶¹ It is difficult to explain the facts of the gospel⁶² without the factual revelation of Genesis 1-3.

This stage should be profoundly characterized by "the contextualization of theology" to the target church.⁶³ Paul alludes to a form, pattern, or outline of apostolic teaching (cf. Acts 20:27; Rom 6:17; 1 Tim 1:13). This pattern did not necessarily follow the same style of logic used in current American orthodox theology texts. Any theological discussion should be natural to the receptor in terms of jargon, idiom, and principles of arrangement.

Persuasion. God's Word demands a response, and this response must be particular, whether in concept or act. "Systems of persuasion . . . in the language and . . . ideological patterns of the people" are crucial.⁶⁴ The persuasion stage is analogous to "reproof, correction . . . instruction in righteousness" (2 Tim 3:17).

⁵⁶Ericson, "Implications," 81. Ericson vigorously rejects using isolated proof texts at this stage.

⁵⁷Ibid., 82.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Genesis 1-3 will also challenge the best efforts in literary analysis and textual exegesis. See, for example, Leland Ryken, *The Literature of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 33-42.

⁶⁰Ibid. See p. 20 for the quotation and related items.

⁶¹E.g., Acts 14:15ff.; Acts 17:22ff.

⁶²E.g., Rom 3:23; 5:12; 1 Cor 15:3-4; et. al.

⁶³For a provocative essay see John Jefferson Davis, "Contextualization and the Nature of Theology," in *The Necessity of Systematic Theology*, 2nd edition, ed. by John Jefferson Davis (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 169-90.

⁶⁴Ericson, "Implications," 82.

Propagation. "The believing community . . . must speak to the society" in which it lives.⁶⁵ This communication of the message is the embodiment of the "Walk in God's way" biblical motif. It will rebuke, enhance, and interact with the customs and institutions of its society.

The first five stages are "responsible, authoritative presentations" and explanations of canonical Scripture.⁶⁶ Propagation is the doing stage. Although it is "somewhat tentative" and hopefully self-correcting, the doing should be an enculturated expression of a Bible-saturated mind (Pss 1:1-2ff.; 119:11; Rom 12:2).⁶⁷ The convert at this point compares favorably with "the man of God . . . perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim 3:17).

The Thessalonian church. Paul's method with the Thessalonian church and their response illustrate the six stages of contextualization. The team went to the synagogue first—the common ground for penetration (Acts 17:1-3). Jason's house was the site for the information and indoctrination stages (Acts 17:4-7). The indoctrination is striking when one notices the number of major doctrines to which Paul alludes in his letters to Thessalonica, bearing in mind that these allusions assume a broader comprehension than the words of the letters suggest. These people imitated the message and manner of life of the messengers—the persuasion stage (1 Thes 1:5, 6). Their widely known conversion documents the propagation stage (1 Thes 1:8-10). As a result, although Paul's stay was perhaps only five months long, Thessalonica was called "the mother of all Macedon" by one Antipater and through the early Christian centuries earned the title "the orthodox city."

Degrees of Contextualization

The degree of contextualization increases as the message moves from the inerrant original to a rootedness in a 20th-century culture.⁷⁰ The original text was already contextualized. Its vocabulary, syntax, and literary structure expressed precisely what God wanted to say to the original audience. That message was the core to be transmitted to

⁶⁵Ibid.; cf. Matt 5:13-14; Phil 2:12-16.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Cf. Col 3:16; Phil 2:12, 16.

⁶⁸M. N. Tod, "Thessalonica," *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 5, general ed., James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955) 2970.

⁶⁹Ibid., 2971.

⁷⁰For a helpful article on the tension and resolution of tension between these focal points, see John R. W. Stott, "The Authority and Relevance of the Bible in the Modern World," *Crux* 16:2 (1980) 11-19.

other cultures. Translation allows for the least amount of variation from the original.

The information stage requires the interpretational process. The three-fold context of 1) the Bible, 2) the messenger, and 3) the recipient makes this stage less concrete than the preceding stage. Contextualized expressions are obviously needed. The indoctrination or systematizing stage calls for contextualized devices for arranging blocks of material. It is instructive to recall the Semitic use of acrostics. Paul's argument with an unnamed opponent provides structure in Romans 2-7.

The amount of contextualization for persuasion exceeds what is needed in doctrinal rearrangement of biblical material. As humanly devised vehicles for internalizing the message increase, so does the risk of distorting the message.

Risk of distortion is greatest when there is an attempt to live in a biblical way. Such living involves adapting to the society in some things (1 Cor 9:19-22; John 17:15; Gal 6:10a). It also involves a separateness and exerting an unwanted godly pressure (Matt 5:13-14; John 17:14, 16; 1 Cor 7:14; Phil 2:15). The persuasion and propagation stages are the most vulnerable, in increasing order, to fostering syncretistic "Christianity."⁷¹

Problems with Contextualization

- 1) The term is fluid and complex.
- 2) Its anthropological and cultural connotations expose treatments that are often more humanistic than biblical.
- 3) Over-emphasis on implementing the concept could dilute basic evangelistic effort.
- 4) Preoccupation with contextualization could dull commitment to the doctrine of total depravity, as that doctrine relates to all cultures.
- 5) The process of thinking about contextualization may be plagued by the effects of a darkened mind, even in the regenerate.⁷²

Strengths of Contextualization

- 1) Contextualization acknowledges the *imago dei* in all men and a corollary truth that there is likely to be something of value in most cultures.
- 2) An emphasis on the process of contextualization helps the messenger to understand and use the perspective of those in the target culture.

⁷¹See Charles H. Kraft, "The Contextualization of Theology," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 14:1 (1978) 35-36.

⁷²Jer 17:9; 2 Cor 4:4; 11:2-3.

- 3) An emphasis on the process, considered in biblical perspective, helps the messenger assess his own values and priorities.
- 4) The effort to contextualize forces one repeatedly to stress in detail the interrelationships between the absolute authority and dynamic usefulness of God's Word.

Controls for Contextualization

Presuppositionalist Apologetics

The messenger must enter his task on the basis of two presuppositions: 1) his God is the God of the Bible and this God is the only God; 2) the Bible is the only explicit, inerrant revelation of the character and will of God. Therefore, the Bible is the judge for all matters of belief, daily conduct, and culture of all people (Heb 11:6; 1:1-2; 2 Pet 1:19-21).

Some Biblical Absolutes

Imago dei. The fact that everyone possesses the image and likeness of God establishes the profound worth of every individual and gives sufficient reason to treat all people properly (Gen 9:6; James 3:9).

Christian love (1 Cor 13:4-7). The messenger loves individuals in the target culture, realizing that genuine love is active rather than abstract. It will act with self-restraint and kindness, without jealousy, without boasting, without arrogance. It will not act unbecomingly, nor in a self-seeking manner, nor in a reactionary way to provocation, nor will it bear a grudge. It will bear all things; it will trust without being naive; it will be optimistic and endure patiently under stress.⁷³ The implications and benefits for contextualizing God's message are obvious. This approach is tantamount to a universal language.

Obedience to explicit Bible commands. Biblical commands must be obeyed (cf. 1 Cor 7:10) whether they are transdispensational commands or those especially germane to the church age. A biblical imperative which in principle is universalized in the Bible is binding in all cultures. Antecedents to many imperatives may be found in Genesis 1-11, which is addressed to the whole human race.⁷⁴ The Lord's table and baptism by immersion exemplify commands for the church age.

Specific commands not nullified elsewhere in the Bible must be applied universally, and these must be understood in the way the

⁷³A free-rendering of 1 Cor 13:4-7, but see NASB and NIV.

⁷⁴J. Robert McQuilken, "Limits of Cultural Interpretation," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23 (1980) 117-18.

author intended.⁷⁵ The Bible must identify the recipients of specific commands. Since the Scriptures were intended to mold cultures, one should hesitate to use culture, ancient or modern, as the sole reason for muting a command.

Man's total depravity. The unregenerate mind is blinded (2 Cor 4:4). The regenerate mind, whether of the messenger or receptor, is subject to deception (2 Cor 11:3). This may hamper discernment in what constitutes legitimate contextualization of the message.

Theological-Hermeneutical Considerations

Verbal inspiration. A high view of inspiration exerts control over the use of culture in biblical interpretation. In dynamic equivalence interpretation, the enduring principle is sought by laying back the actual words of the text. That principle is then applied to the contemporary culture. Verbal inspiration requires that the words must not be sacrificed to the "enduring principle." To circumvent the words is tantamount to inspiration only of thoughts. This tension exists because God conveyed much truth "in the living context" of a specific language and culture rather than dictating "a series of theological propositions in a celestial language."⁷⁶

A grammatico-historical hermeneutic. This method of interpretation guards against reinterpretation of the plain meaning of the text. Such reinterpretation may intend to contextualize more readily the particular teaching into the target culture.⁷⁷ The interpreter must study the historical-cultural context of the Bible in order to understand the intended meaning of the biblical author. Only the intuitive model of hermeneutics can avoid this step.⁷⁸

Clarity of Scripture. The basics for biblical living in any culture are clear when the translation is adequate (Ps 119:105).⁷⁹ Some contemporary approaches to issues like divorce, the role of women, and abortion may give precedence to cultural factors over obvious statements of Scripture. However, regardless of cultural factors, the plain sense of Scripture should control interpretation and application.

⁷⁵Ibid., 121.

⁷⁶Ibid., 115.

⁷⁷Ibid., 124. Sproul dramatizes the problem of re-interpretation along dynamic equivalence lines. He shows that the U.S. constitution was interpreted by the grammatico-historical method until Oliver Wendell Holmes. Since that time, the constitution often has been interpreted by the contemporary climate. See R. C. Sproul, *Knowing Scripture* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1977) 45-46.

⁷⁸See 43 above.

⁷⁹J. I. Packer, "The Adequacy of Human Language," in *Inerrancy*, ed. by Norman L. Geisler (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979) 217. Packer cites Calvin, who claimed that God spoke "with a contemptible meanness." On Scripture clarity, also see Sproul, *Knowing Scripture*, 15-17.

Distinction between interpretation and application. The author's intended meaning and proper enculturation of that meaning are elucidated by separate processes. Application requires that one understand the cultural context of the contemporary recipient.⁸⁰

A saturated mind, spiritual discernment, and godly counsel. Messengers and receptors benefit from minds massively conditioned by broad biblical content (Pss 1:1-2; 119:11; Heb 5:14). All believers have the potential to discern what is of God (1 John 2:20-29; 4:1-4). By implication, this discernment could extend to proper enculturation of the message. The two parties may provide mutual godly counsel in working together for the spread of the gospel (cf. 1 Cor 7:25, 40). These three factors guard against unscriptural contextualization.

CONCLUSION

Summary

This paper has defined "contextualization" as showing the whole Bible to be relevant to the total individual in all his relationships of life. This definition is radically different from the meaning which liberalism assigns to the term. In the biblical survey, principles have been identified which both aid in contextualization and suggest some of its pitfalls. Part III has outlined the stages and risks in the process of contextualization and listed problems, benefits, and controls for using the concept.

Conclusion

"Contextualization" is a legitimate term describing one aspect of cross-cultural propagation of the gospel. It designates a means toward a goal. The term is, therefore, appropriate for use in relation to separatist missionary effort.

This examination of the term has focused upon the cross-cultural setting for contextualization. Several principles for contextualizing the message have surfaced. Due to the fact that people differ within the smallest groups, many of these principles are useful for contextualizing biblical teaching in any community.

⁸⁰Padilla, "Hermeneutics and Culture," 64-65. Padilla suggests a "contextual" approach to hermeneutics because it "adds an appreciation of the role of today's world in conditioning the way the contemporary readers are likely to 'hear' and understand the text." This approach recognizes that the evangelist must "transpose the message from its (historical Biblical) context into the context of present day readers," so that the intended impact for the original biblical audience will be realized in lives in the target culture.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Creation Science and Modern Biology

JOHN C. WHITCOMB

What is Creation Science? by Henry M. Morris and Gary E. Parker. San Diego: Creation-Life, 1982. Pp. 306. \$7.95. Paper.

This is probably the most helpful handbook on scientific creationism now available. The first three chapters of 150 pages concerning the life sciences were written by Gary E. Parker, Ed.D., Chairman of the Biology Department for the Graduate School of the Institute for Creation Research. The final three chapters of about 100 pages, dealing with the physical sciences, were written by Henry M. Morris, founder and president of the Institute for Creation Research. Each of these authors, in his own field of specialization, has attained worldwide fame for his grasp of the basic issues involved in the creation-evolution controversy of our day and for his ability to articulate these issues in public presentation and debate. The authors were evolution scientists and, by the grace of God, have entered into the marvelous realm of creation truth. Since this handbook is the end product of many years of intense research and interaction on the part of the authors and is a serious attempt to communicate clearly to the non-scientist through the use of non-technical terms and 58 helpful illustrations, it deserves the careful attention of those who have been exposed to the dogmatic claims of evolution scientists in our generation. It is the reviewer's purpose to analyze Part 2, "The Physical Sciences," by Dr. Henry Morris, together with an overview of the entire volume in the next issue of the *Grace Theological Journal*.

In his opening chapter, "Evidence of Creation in Living Systems," Parker provides a brilliant analysis of the fundamental issues involved in the creation-evolution controversy today. To begin with, what is the difference between a pebble that vaguely looks like a boot and an intricately carved arrowhead? If the softer parts of the pebble are more worn away than the harder parts and the lines of wear follow lines of weakness in the rock, it is clearly the result of time and chance operating through weathering and erosion on the inherent properties of matter (p. 2).

*The reviewer hereby expresses appreciation to Richard Jeffreys, Ph.D., Professor of Biochemistry, Grace College, for his kind assistance in the preparation of this article.

However, the arrowhead represents a radically different kind of order. Here we find matter shaped and molded according to a design that gives the rocky material a purpose, which we easily recognize as an evidence of (human) creation. "Evolutionists believe that life itself is a result, like the tumbled pebble, of *time, chance, and the inherent properties of matter*. The arrowhead represents the *creation* idea, that living systems have *irreducible properties of organization* that were produced, like the arrowhead, by *design and creation*" (p. 4). Applying these principles to the fundamental question of the origin and nature of life, Parker explains that not one molecule that constitutes the physical structure of the living cell is itself alive. Furthermore, the natural reaction between acids and bases within the cell not only cannot promote but actually prevents the use of DNA to code protein production. Thus, "chemistry is not our ancestor; it's our problem. When cells lose their biological order and their molecules start reacting in chemical ways, we die. A dead body contains all the molecules necessary for life and approximately the right amount of each. What is lost at death are balance and biological order that otherwise use food to put us together faster than chemistry tears us apart!" (p. 8). But if a living cell is a collection of nonliving molecules, what does it take to make a living cell alive? The answer is—*creation*!

At this point Parker provides a superb illustration:

Suppose I asked you this question: 'Can aluminum fly?' By itself, of course, aluminum can't fly. Aluminum ore in rock just sits there. If you pour gasoline on it, does that make it fly? Pour a little rubber on it; that doesn't make it fly either. But suppose you take that aluminum, stretch it out in a nice long tube with wings, a tail, and a few other parts. *Then* it flies; we call it an airplane. Did you ever wonder what makes an airplane fly? Take the wings off and study them; they don't fly. Take the engines off, study them; they don't fly . . . not a single part of it flies! . . . What does it take to make an airplane fly? Created design and organization (p. 11).

.....
Scientists understand how airplanes fly. For that very reason, no scientist believes that airplanes are the result of time, chance, and the properties of aluminum and other materials that make up the airplane. Flying is a property of organization, not substance. A Boeing 747, for example, is a collection of four-and-a-half million non-flying parts, but thanks to design and creation (and a continuous supply of energy and repair services!), it flies. Similarly, 'life' is a property of organization, not substance. A living cell is a collection of several billion non-living molecules, and death results when a shortage of energy or a flaw in operational or repair mechanisms allows inherent chemical processes to destroy its biological order (p. 14).

Parker concludes this brilliant, basic analysis of the issues that divide creationism from evolutionism with these words:

It's what we *do know* and *can explain* about aluminum and the laws of physics that would convince us that airplanes are the products of creation, even if we never saw the acts of creation. In the same way, it's what we *do know* and *can explain* about DNA and protein and the laws of chemistry which suggest that life itself is the result of creation. My point is not based on design *per se*, but on the *kind of design* we observe. As creationists point out, some kinds of design, such as snowflakes and wind-worn rock formations, *do* result from time and

chance—*given* the properties of the material involved. . . . But just as clearly, other kinds of design, e.g. arrowheads and airplanes, are the direct result of creative design and organization giving matter properties it doesn't have and can't develop on its own. What we know about the DNA-protein relationship suggests that living cells have the *created kind of design* (p. 15).

Note the outstandingly helpful analysis of the differences between mechanism, vitalism, and creationism:

Creation stands between the classic extremes of mechanism and vitalism. Mechanists, including evolutionists, believe that both the *operation* and *origin* of living things are the result of the laws of chemistry which reflect the inherent properties of matter. Vitalists believe that both the operation and origin of living systems depend on mysterious forces that lie beyond scientific description. According to creationists, living things *operate* in understandable ways that can be described in terms of scientific laws—but, these observations include properties of organization that logically imply a created origin for life. The creationist, then, recognizes the orderliness that the vitalist doesn't see. But he doesn't limit himself only to those kinds of order that result from time, chance, and the properties of matter as the evolutionist does. Creation introduces levels of order and organization that greatly enrich the range of explorable hypotheses and turn the study of life into a scientist's dream (p. 16).

With his foundations thus carefully established, Parker proceeds to tackle some of the current controversial issues that characterize the evolution-creation debate. Homologous structures in living things such as the foreleg of a horse or dog, the wing of a bat, and the flipper of a penguin are shown to be explained better by creation according to a common design than descent from a common ancestor (pp. 19–27). Parker candidly admits that in many cases either explanation will work, but that there seem to be times when the only thing that works is creation according to a common design (p. 21). A classic example of this is “convergence,” such as the similarity between the eyes of humans and vertebrates on the one hand and the eyes of squids and octopuses on the other (p. 22). Evolutionary arguments based upon molecular taxonomy (e.g., hemoglobin and lysozyme) and embryonic development (“the yoke sac,” the “gill slits,” and “tail”) are shown to be completely fallacious (pp. 24–34).

Especially troubling to evolutionists is the obviously marvelous fit of organisms to their environment, such as the dependence of certain large fish upon certain small fish that systematically clean their teeth! (pp. 34–40). Leading evolutionists such as Szent-Gyorgyi and Garrett Hardin admit that the probability of this relationship coming about by random mutation is absolutely zero (p. 38).

In the second of his three chapters, “Darwin and the Nature of Biologic Change,” Parker provides additional clear, brief, and helpful discussions on *the peppered moth* (pp. 44–48); *the flicker woodpecker* with its astounding set of “drilling tools” (pp. 50–51); *the bombardier beetle* with two “cannons” that can shoot forth noxious gases at his enemies at 212° F (pp. 51–53); variations among Darwin's finches (pp. 55–57); the length of a giraffe's neck and how he did not attain it (pp. 58–59); fruit-fly mutations (pp. 51–52); drug-resistant bacteria (p. 64); and sickle-cell anemia (pp. 69–70).

Especially fascinating to this reviewer is Parker's explanation of the recent discovery that *all* the distinct racial features of mankind today could have appeared within two generations after the judgment of Babel (pp. 78–84). In the light of all of this, one of America's leading anticreationists, Stephen Jay Gould of Harvard, states that the currently popular neo-darwinian theory of evolution is "effectively dead, despite its persistence as textbook orthodoxy" (p. 74). Gould "prefers to believe instead that evolution occurs in giant steps, radical restructuring of whole DNA sets producing what he himself calls 'hopeful monsters.' But he admits that no such hopeful monster has been observed. His new theory, then, is not any sort of logical inference from observations, but a fantastic faith in the future of the theory that the facts have failed" (p. 74; cf. 84).

For most evolutionists, as well as creationists, the ultimate question hinges on the interpretation of the fossil record in the crust of the earth which opens before us as the pages of a gigantic book. In chapter three, Parker (who has done paleontological research in North America and Australia following his doctoral studies in this discipline), deals very effectively with the fossil evidence. Beginning with the invertebrates (animals without backbones), we learn that practically all the major groups of these animals were in existence, even in greater abundance than today, at the very beginning of the geologic column. Evolutionism would predict that these "ancient animals" would be the simplest in form. But there we find that trilobites had extremely complex eyes (p. 92):

Let's imagine we're diving in the ocean back when the trilobites were alive. If we compare life in the trilobite seas with what we see in the oceans today, what would we say? 'Look at all the new forms of life, the increased variety and greater complexity!' No, that's not what we would say at all. Rather, we might say, 'What happened? Where did everything go? What happened to all the trilobites? Where are all the lampshells?' There used to be several thousand species; now only a handful are left. We might also wonder what happened to the great nautiloids, with their long, straight shells reaching up to nine feet in length. Today the only shelled squid we have is the modest pearly nautilus. Extinction, not evolution, is the rule when we compare fossil sea life with the sort of marine invertebrates we find living today. If fact, all major groups, except perhaps the groups including clams and snails, are represented by greater variety and more complex forms as *fossils* than today. It's hard to imagine how absolutely crushing this evidence is to evolution. . . . Snails come from snails. . . . squids come from squids . . . trilobites seem only to come from trilobites. In other words, you find snails and squids and trilobites as fossils; you don't find "snids" and "squails" and "squailobites," or some other in-between form or common ancestor. The "missing links" between these groups are still missing (p. 94).

Creationists are not the only ones who have insisted that the fossil record is deadly to evolutionism. Charles Darwin himself asked: ". . . intermediate links? Geology assuredly does *not* reveal any such finely graduated organic change, and this is perhaps the *most obvious and serious objection* which can be urged against the theory [of evolution]" (p. 96). Well over 100 years have passed since Darwin wrote those words and paleontologists today face an even greater dilemma. David Raup, curator of the Field Museum of Natural

History in Chicago, admits, "... ironically, we have even fewer examples of evolutionary transition than we had in Darwin's time." Parker concludes: "Genetic studies suggest that mutation-selection *could not* lead to evolutionary change; the fossil evidence seems to confirm that *it did not*" (p. 98).

The message we learn from fossil plants is identical. Darwin considered the problem of the origin of flowering plants as "an abominable mystery" (p. 99). In our own day, E. J. H. Corner, Professor of Botany at Cambridge University, has stated: "... to the unprejudiced, the fossil record of plants is in favor of special creation" (p. 101).

But what about the vertebrates (animals with backbones)? Evolutionists usually point to the archaeopteryx, a winged, feathered bird, which had certain features of a reptile. Our author successfully demonstrates the impossibility of this creature being a missing link between reptile and bird. Furthermore, the entire debate has been rendered irrelevant by the discovery in 1977 of "the femur of a typical bird in the same rock unit in which archaeopteryx is found" (p. 103).

"Thanks in large measure to the fossil evidence," scientific creationists have been winning debates with evolutionists in major universities across North America, Europe, Asia, and Australia. Dr. Joe Felsenstein at the University of Washington confesses that we now have a "generation of evolutionary biologists who ... can be reduced to babbling by any creationist debater in possession of more than two facts" (p. 106). Parker comments that when that statement was made (1978) "there were only two, Dr. Henry M. Morris and Dr. Duane T. Gish. Apparently all it took to level 'mountains of fossil evidence for evolution' was Morris or Gish and three facts!" (p. 106). In its analysis of a conference of the world's leading evolutionists held in Chicago, *Newsweek* (Nov. 3, 1980) concluded:

The missing link between man and the apes ... is merely the most glamorous of a whole hierarchy of phantom creatures. In the fossil record, missing links are the rule ... The more scientists have searched for the transitional forms between species, the more they have been frustrated. ... *Evidence from fossils now points overwhelmingly away from the classical Darwinism which most Americans learned in high school* (p. 108).

Many of the young paleontologists at the Chicago conference have pushed for a new concept of evolution called *statis* (static). As Parker humorously describes it: "the most fundamental fact of their theory of change is that everything stays the same!" (p. 110).

This new evolution concept, most vigorously promoted by Stephen J. Gould of Harvard, is known technically as "punctuated equilibrium." More popularly, it is known as the "hopeful-monster theory," a theory that was introduced back in the 1930s by Richard Goldschmidt of the University of California, and others. This view maintains that the reason we find no missing links between reptiles and birds, for example, is because the first bird simply hatched out of a reptile egg! This supposedly happened as a result of "radical chromosome rearrangements or cataclysmic mutations in regulatory genes" (p. 112). Unfortunately for this new theory, however, no hopeful monster has ever been seen to appear as a result of mutations or chromosome rearrangement. Gould himself also wonders what such a hopeful monster

could mate with (p. 114). But if creation is unthinkable, and no one seems to be finding evidence of in-between creatures in the fossil record, some such absurdities must be imagined by modern evolutionists!

In the light of this, we can understand why Gary Parker feels that "sometimes it's kind of fun to be a creationist. The 'rear-guard' neo-Darwinian evolutionists like to point out the apparent absurdity of hopeful-monster evolution and claim that *evolution could not happen fast*. The punctuational evolutionists point to genetic limits and the fossil evidence to show that *evolution did not happen slowly*. The creationist simply agrees with both sides: evolution couldn't happen fast and it didn't happen slowly—because evolution can't and didn't happen at all!" (p. 115). Thus, concludes Parker:

This new concept of evolution is based on the fossils we *don't* find and on genetic mechanisms that have *never* been observed. The case for creation is based on thousands of tons of fossils that we *have* found and on genetic mechanisms (variation within type) that we *do* observe and put into practice every day. As a scientist, I'm inclined to prefer a model that's based on what we *do* see and *can* explain (creation), rather than one that's based on what we don't see and cannot explain (evolution) (p. 116).

The crucial issue of human origins is adequately presented in this handbook. Some of the popular ape-men specimens of two generations ago, such as the Piltdown Man, the Java-ape Man, and the Nebraska Man, are shown to have been complete hoaxes (pp. 118–19). Even the most recent finds, such as "Lucy" and other Australopithecines, turn out, upon closer inspection, to be exactly what the name implies, namely, "southern apes." Like the modern pygmy chimpanzee, "*Pan paniscus*," they may have been able to walk upright, but *not in the human manner* (pp. 121–24). Even more significantly, Richard Leakey found "bones virtually indistinguishable from those of modern man" *beneath* the bones his father, Louis Leakey, had unearthed and named Zinjanthropus (p. 124). Thus, "the Australopithecines could not have been our ancestors, of course, if people were walking around *before* Lucy and her kin were fossilized." For example, the fossils of ordinary people in "Mid-Tertiary" rock have been found in Castenedolo, Italy, and Charles Oxnard ("Human Fossils: New View of Old Bones," *American Biology Teacher*, May, 1979) calls attention to the "*Kanapoi hominid*, a human upper arm bone found in rock strata in Africa laid down *before* those that entomb the australopithecine remains" (p. 125). Then follows a fascinating discussion of fossilized footprints that are obviously human, not only in east Africa, but also in the Paluxy River bed near Glen Rose, Texas. Some of these footprints actually cross the tracks of dinosaurs (pp. 125–29). Parker answers the common objection that these footprints could have been carved, by stating:

The carved tracks are usually *obviously* carved and, in any doubtful cases, carved and natural tracks can be distinguished because the fine lines in the natural limestone cement will be cut through in a carving but will follow the pressure ridge in a print pushed up as the original sediment—with both manlike and dinosaur tracks—hardened (p. 128).

This, of course, raises the entire question of the validity of the "geologic column."

Now the geologic column is an idea, *not* an actual series of rock layers. Nowhere do we find the complete sequence. Even the walls of the Grand Canyon include only five of the twelve major systems (one, five, six, and seven, with small protions here and there of the fourth system, the Devonian). . . . According to creationists, the geological systems represent different ecological zones, the buried remains of plants and animals that once lived together in the same environment. A walk through Grand Canyon, then, is not like a walk through evolutionary time; instead, it's like a walk from the bottom of the ocean, across the tidal zone, over the shore, across the lowlands, and on into the upland regions (pp. 129–31).

In parts of the Grand Canyon, Mississippian rock rests paraconformably on Cambrian rock—a gap of 125 million years of hypothetical evolutionary time with no evidence of a time break at all. These imagined Ordovician, Silurian, and Devonian ages simply vanished! But “we simply can't imagine just sitting there for [125] million years, neither eroding or depositing, then picking up exactly where it left off” (pp. 132–33).

In addition to this, fossil trees (called polystyrates) have been found extending through many rock layers or strata. Such fossils cry out for catastrophic burial! Through the research of Steven Austin and others, we now know that the massive coal seams in North America and elsewhere must have been formed rapidly from plant debris deposited under mats of vegetation floating in sea water (pp. 134–36). Thus, “*massive flooding and catastrophic upheaval*” is the key that unlocks the mystery of the origin of coal and other fossil fuels.

Such evidences are bringing about a significant change of thinking on the part of scientists who confront the realities of the fossil world. An entire group of evolutionary geologists now call themselves “*neo-catastrophists*.” Derek Ager, past president of the British Geologic Association, looking at geologic evidence around the world, was reminded of the life of a soldier, full of “long periods of boredom and short periods of terror” (“The Nature of the Fossil Record,” *Proceedings of the Geological Association* 87:2 [1976] 131–59). Parker brilliantly comments:

It seems to me that the “long periods of boredom” are the contact lines between the strata (the *absence* of deposits where, presumably, all the evolution has occurred); the “short periods of terror” formed the fossil-bearing deposits themselves. It is rapid, large-scale processes that form the fossil-bearing deposits we actually observe (pp. 136–37).

Evolutionists are usually deeply frustrated to find creationists using quotations like these to their own advantage in creation-evolution debates and writings. (See *Newsweek*, March 29, 1982, p. 46.) Derek Ager himself is no exception:

Ager knows that the creationists (“California sects,” he calls them) are going to make use of his work, and he's absolutely right. We're not arguing our case on the strength of his opinion, however, but upon the evidence that he knows so well. The evidence suggests rapid deposition on a large scale—catastrophism. . . . As I write this, evolutionists seem to be stepping all over themselves to see who can come up with the right worldwide catastrophe to explain the sudden, worldwide extinction of the dinosaurs. . . . (p. 137).

In the present debate, it is important to recognize the extreme rarity of conditions for massive fossilization:

Nowhere on earth today do we have fossils forming on the scale that we see in geologic deposits. The Karroo Beds in Africa, for example, contain the remains of perhaps 800 billion vertebrates! A million fish can be killed in red tides in the Gulf of Mexico today, but they simply decay away and do not become fossils. Similarly, debris from vegetation mats doesn't become coal unless it is buried under a heavy load of sediment (p. 138).

Parker is convinced that catastrophism not only explains the cause of massive fossilization, but also helps us to understand patterns of extinction we see when we compare living forms with their fossil relatives:

A catastrophe would wipe out creatures regardless of their environmental fitness. . . . That would explain why present forms appear to be no more fit to survive than their fossil relatives. At best only a few of each type would survive, and these would possess less of the original created gene pool. That would help to explain why most groups existed in greater variety in times past than they do now. . . . Worldwide climate changes, brought on by massive flooding and other catastrophes, might also help us to explain patterns of survival. Fossil plants and living plants include both spore-bearing and seed-bearing types. Both types have been hit by extinction, but the spore-bearing plants have been much more hard hit by extinction, and those are the types of plants that would find it harder to migrate throughout an earth with climate extremes like we have today. Similarly, animals can be described as warm-blooded or cold-blooded. Again, it's the cold-blooded, those less likely to adapt to climate extremes like we have today, that have been most strongly devastated by extinction (pp. 140-41).

Parker concludes his half of this remarkable volume by an appeal to the sad experience of Galileo three hundred years ago. This is particularly significant because Galileo's case is generally used by evolutionists as leverage against the supposed threat of Christian theologians to the academic freedom and open inquiry of scientists today!

When Galileo first presented the evidence against Ptolemy's earth-centered view of astronomy, leaders of "the establishment" refused to even look through his telescope. The leaders in those days were both churchmen and scientists who had, unfortunately, made the thinking of an early Egyptian astronomer an article of faith (a warning against making a particular theory an "article of faith" in the "establishment" today?). Today it's too often the evolutionist who hides behind thought-stifling ridicule and cliché (e.g., misinterpreted "separation of church and state") and refuses to even "look through the telescope" (or microscope!) at the evidence of creation (pp. 141-43).

Paradoxically, the Galileos of our day turn out to be creation scientists! It is evolutionism that blinds and binds the inquiring mind of man.

But for one whose mind is open to the possibility of creation, there is freedom indeed! Nature becomes a scientist's dream. Everyone, scientists included, can tell the difference between a pebble and an arrowhead—one shaped by time and chance acting on the inherent properties of matter, the other with irreducible properties of organization resulting from design and creation. If scientists can't

study created objects, they can't study arrowheads or airplanes. If they are open to creation as a possibility, then they are free to explore both kinds of order, and to test predictions and inferences against observations" (p. 148).

Parker is to be commended for this concise and fascinatingly written up-date of the creationist perspective in "The Life Sciences."

REVIEW ARTICLE

The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text

DANIEL B. WALLACE

The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text, edited by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982. Pp. xlvii + 810. \$13.95.

A. T. Robertson, that superb grammarian of a generation now past, once wrote that "The Greek New Testament is still the Torchbearer of Light and Progress for the world" (*The Minister and His Greek New Testament* [Nashville: Broadman, 1924] 116). If this be true, then any light we can gain *on* the text of the Greek NT will certainly help us to gain light *from* it. The conservative student of Scripture should be especially eager to get his hands on anything which helps to recover the very words of the autographs.

With this perspective in mind, Zane Hodges, professor of NT Literature and Exegesis at Dallas Theological Seminary, and Arthur Farstad, executive New Testament editor of the New KJV, have edited a Greek NT which is based on the majority of extant mss. According to the jacket of the book, "Their carefully edited text marks the *first time in this century* that the Greek New Testament has been produced using the vast bulk of extant manuscripts rather than the small body of Egyptian manuscripts that form the basis of the currently popular 3rd edition of the United Bible Societies text and the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland text." Regardless of which text-critical theory one holds to, it is difficult not to be impressed by this volume. If it is gratuitous to claim that the reading of the autographs will always be found in the Byzantine minuscules (a claim which the editors never *explicitly* make), at least, the printing of the *Majority Text* will certainly make dialogue with the Hodges-Farstad view easier. The most casual reader will be struck immediately with the fact that this is *not* another reprint of the *Textus Receptus* (disarming to some extent those who have charged Hodges with this view. As recently as 1978 Hodges' view has been misunderstood by no less a scholar than Gordon Fee who asked, "If they [i.e., Hodges *et al.*] really mean majority rule, are they ready to give up the TR at such non-superficial variants as Acts 8:37 and 1 John 5:7-8 (where a weak minority of Greek mss supports the TR)?" ("Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the

Textus Receptus," *JETS* 21 [1978] 23). A glance at the *Majority Text* will reveal that these *TR* readings are indeed rejected because they are not found in the majority of mss).

The book has a thirty-eight page introduction, most of which is consumed with explaining the apparatus. The text itself has been type-set very handsomely. The printing is fairly large (about the same size as found in UBS³) and easy to read. There are English subtitles for major paragraphs, designed to "trigger the brain to expect the vocabulary one is likely to encounter in such a paragraph" (p. xli). Each page of text has at least one apparatus and normally two. The apparatus immediately below the text contrasts the majority of mss with the *TR* (otherwise, agreement is assumed). The bottom apparatus contrasts the majority of mss with the principal Alexandrian witnesses and with UBS³ and Nestle²⁶. The text of two editions (*TR* and Nestle²⁶ [UBS³]) and two text-types (Alexandrian, Byzantine [= majority text roughly]) are thus effectively presented for the entire NT. The book concludes with a select bibliography on NT textual criticism (pp. 803–10).

This "new" edition of the Greek NT is commendable for several reasons. First and foremost, it has ably achieved its primary goal of providing a critical text of the majority of extant mss. The evidence is presented so clearly that previous judgments about the alleged character of the Byzantine text-type can now be easily tested. A perusal of almost any page of text will reveal that (a) the majority of the mss do not always have a text which is identical to the *TR* (thus, softening considerably the guilt-by-association tactics which have been used against advocates of this text form), and (b) the alleged "conflations" of the Byzantine text-type do not always hold up: quite frequently these mss have a *shorter* reading than that found in Egypt!

Second, for the student who believes that the voice of the Byzantine mss should at least be heard when textual decisions are being made, this edition of the Greek NT will prove invaluable. The fact that UBS³ does not list very many Byzantine readings should not be surprising: it is primarily a text for translators, not exegetes (p. v of UBS³). This is not to say that it is faultless, however, because there are hundreds of Byzantine readings not listed in the UBS apparatus which alter the translation of the text. The Nestle²⁶ text, by contrast, is designed primarily for exegetes and has many more *times* the textual variants of the UBS³ text. I was rather surprised therefore to find several majority text readings which were not listed in the Nestle apparatus. For example, on p. 115 of the *Majority Text* the text of Mark 3:25–32 is found. Sixteen variants are listed in the second apparatus (which contrasts the majority text with the Egyptian and critical texts). By comparing this text with Nestle²⁶, it is seen that the Nestle apparatus does not cite four of these variants. Although it might be argued that these four variants are not significant, would it not be wiser to allow the exegete to make that decision in each instance? In Eph 6:17, for example, where Nestle²⁶ has δέξασθε, the *Majority Text* (as well as Alexandrinus) reads δέξασθαί—a reading not cited in the Nestle apparatus. A good case could be made that the structure and argument of the paragraph (vv 10–20, especially vv 14–17) rests on whether Paul wrote the imperative or infinitive in this verse. Further, even when the Nestle apparatus does cite the reading of the majority text, occasionally this

reading is somewhat obscured by the brevity of the citation. For example, in Rev 4:8 the Nestle text reads ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος. In its apparatus the bulk of the Byzantine mss are said to read *novies ay*. Most students today would not realize that *novies* was Latin for "nine times." But the *Majority Text* makes this explicit for non-Latin readers with its nine-fold ascription of holiness to Almighty God—a *triple trisagion*! (Incidentally, the first hand of Sinaiticus is cited as having *octies ay*. [ἅγιος eight times] in the Nestle apparatus, which certainly indicates that its exemplar had ἅγιος nine times rather than three.)

Third, the editors as advocates of the genealogical method ("this method remains the only logical one" [p. xii]) provide a rather provocative family tree, or stemma, for John 7:53–8:11 and the Apocalypse. Almost half of the introduction (pp. xxiii–xli) is devoted to a discussion of these texts, their stemmas, and their apparatuses (which are slightly different than the apparatus for the rest of the NT). Although it is beyond the scope of this review to interact with this evidence, it should be pointed out here that this part of the introduction and the apparatuses on these two texts will probably be seen as the most stimulating and significant portions of this volume by textual critics. The criteria the editors lay down for a valid stemma (p. xxv), if followed for the NT as a whole (although the question of feasibility is still present), could possibly play a major role in determining the text of the autographs. (One cannot resist noting that the editors' employment of stemmatics actually *proves false*, in a number of places, the first premise of their textual theory ["(1) Any reading overwhelmingly attested by the manuscript tradition is more likely to be original than its rival(s)" (p. xi)]. Cf., e.g., βαθέως in John 8:2 which is supported by a *minority* of mss within the Byzantine text!) Until such work is done for the rest of the NT, however, Hodges and Farstad must admit, as they do, that the *Majority Text* "is both preliminary and provisional" (p. x).

Finally, several stylistic considerations enhance the value of this Greek text (see pp. xli–xliii). In particular, the use of English subtitles and the particular subtitles selected are most helpful. It is rather evident that these subtitles were *not* an afterthought: some of them touch a poetic chord (e.g., "Filial Honor and Fatherly Nurture" for Eph 6:1–4; "The Untamable Tongue" for Jas 3:1–12; "The Chosen Stone and His Chosen People" for 1 Pet 2:1–9); some give an excellent synthesis of a chapter which is well adapted to a homiletical outline (e.g., 2 Peter 2 has four points: "Destructive Doctrines of the False Teachers, Doom of the False Teachers, Depravity of the False Teachers, Deceptions of the False Teachers"; cf. also Ephesians 3; Col 2:4–3:11; 1 Peter 4); occasionally, even the classic Latin titles are used (e.g., "*Magnum Mystrium*" for 1 Tim 3:14–16; cf. also Luke 1, 2). The editors are to be applauded for departing from the all-too-frequent anemic subtitles used in most modern Bibles. The 'zing' of these titles was a bit surprising since the editors stated that their goal here was merely "to make the titles objective and factual rather than interpretive" (p. xli). They have not entirely succeeded in *not* being interpretive, as we shall soon see, but they have succeeded in *not* being bland!

The *Majority Text* is not without its faults, however. Chief among these is the fact that its text and apparatus are based entirely on evidence supplied in other *editions* of the Greek NT rather than on a first-hand acquaintance

with the MSS. Von Soden's edition was the primary source of information employed by the editors. They quickly add, however, that "this has been extensively checked with the Eighth Edition of Constantine Tischendorf, with the apparatus of S. C. E. Legg for Matthew and Mark, and with the apparatuses of UBS³ and Nestle-Aland²⁶ . . ." (p. xv). In order for the *Majority Text* to be considered completely reliable in its presentation of evidence, three assumptions must be made: (1) for those Byzantine readings not listed in Nestle²⁶, from Luke to Jude (since Legg supplements von Soden in Matthew-Mark and Hoskier supplants him in Revelation), the many MSS discovered and collated since 1913 (the publication date of von Soden's text) have not altered the picture of the Byzantine text-type that von Soden paints for us and that von Soden was reliable in his collation and presentation of the Byzantine text; (2) for those Byzantine readings which are listed in Nestle²⁶ and agree with von Soden, the Nestle editors cited the evidence correctly; and (3) the *Majority Text* editors made no errors in the process of transmitting the evidence from other apparatuses to their own. The first of these assumptions seems to be the most serious. The editors recognize this weakness, however:

As all who are familiar with von Soden's materials will know, his presentation of the data leaves much to be desired. Particularly problematic to the editors of this edition was the extent to which his examination of the K materials appeared to lack consistency. . . . That such procedures jeopardize the accuracy of any independently constructed apparatus is self-evident. But the generalized data of the other sources (such as Tischendorf or Legg) were of little value in correcting this deficiency. In the final analysis, if the present edition was to be produced at all, the statements of von Soden usually had to be accepted (pp. xxii-xxiii).

Nevertheless, the sum of all three assumptions does not destroy the credibility of this text; for the most part, it points out the need for further work for advocates of the majority text, as the editors well know:

What is urgently needed is a new apparatus for the gospels, Acts, and epistles, covering the entire manuscript tradition. It should include complete collations of a very high percentage of the surviving Majority Text manuscripts. Such an apparatus could then be used to determine the actual distribution of rival variants within the majority tradition. Beyond this, it could provide the indispensable base from which definitive stemmatic work could be done (p. xxiii).

Second, only four pages of the introduction are devoted to a defense of the majority text view. In the space of six paragraphs the editors dismiss the Westcott-Hort theory as one which "has failed to advance convincing objections to the authenticity of the Majority Text" (p. xi). In this section they are clearly giving the *summation* of their view rather than the evidence for it. They cite no sources here, but speak of the modern trend of scholars and scholarship as tending to reject the bases on which the Westcott-Hort theory was founded. In future editions of this text one could wish for some documentation of these statements, however, especially since (a) the neophyte in lower criticism is not usually willing to wade through the whole select

bibliography to determine the truth of such assertions and (b) although the editors are certainly only giving a summation of their view, the jacket of the book claims that they have accomplished something far greater: "Zane Hodges and Arthur Farstad build a *substantial*—and *convincing*—argument for the Majority Text in their Introduction [italics added] . . ." and "They effectively refute the W-H argument . . ." It is suggested that these assertions on the dust cover be deleted from future editions or, the introduction be expanded, with documentation and evidence, to fit this proleptic statement. Nevertheless, since one should not judge a book by its cover, it is presumed that the somewhat gratuitous claims on the jacket were not what the editors themselves believed the introduction to accomplish.

Third, although the English subtitles are excellent overall, they do not always succeed in being "objective and factual rather than interpretive" (p. xli). For example, in Eph 4:7–16 the title reads, "Each Believer Has a Spiritual Gift." Although this is certainly true and may be implied in this text (though only in v 7), the *thrust* of the passage does not at all seem to be on the gifts of all believers, but rather on the purpose of the functional unity of the body accomplished first (though not exclusively) through its gifted leadership. Thus, the subtitle here seems too narrow, though it is not entirely incorrect. In Eph 4:17–24, however, the subtitle has clearly transgressed the boundaries of objectivity. It reads, "Put on the New Man," interpreting the infinitives of vv 22–24 as going back to imperatives in the direct discourse. Although this is certainly a *possible* interpretation, an excellent case could be made that these infinitives refer back to indicatives in the direct discourse. The ambiguous title "Putting on the New Man" would seem to fit their objectives better. Admittedly, and to the credit of the editors, this kind of interpretive title is extremely rare, causing only a minor annoyance.

Fourth, for future editions it is suggested that the editors expand on the textual evidence they list in the apparatus. Especially the Western witnesses (D, G, Itala, *et al.*) should be included. For those of us who do not accept the Byzantine text when it stands alone as containing the reading of the original, but who do not relegate it to a tertiary, non-voting role among the text-types, such information would be most illuminating. If the editors put students of the NT in the awkward position of deciding between Byzantine and Alexandrian witnesses, as though no other evidence counted, their text might tend to be counterproductive for their theory. There may be some who disagree with their premises, but who would agree with the resultant text in many places if the evidence which could persuade them were added to the apparatus.

Finally, the *Majority Text* shares a weakness with the text of UBS³: neither one marks out in a special way the *allusions* to the OT in the NT. Nestle²⁶ does this to some degree (though Nestle²⁵ was far more extensive), but the *Majority Text* and UBS³ only highlight (by bold type in UBS³, by *guillemets* in the *Majority Text*) quotations. Although it is true that there are many problems in determining whether a NT author is quoting or alluding to the OT, this writer would prefer that all the *possible* allusions be specially marked out so that he can evaluate the evidence for himself. In order to avoid the danger of assuming a positive identification in every instance, is it not possible for *some* edition of the Greek NT to give a rating system as to the

certainty of the identification, similar to the textual rating system found in UBS³?

To sum up both the positive and negative aspects of the *Majority Text*, the positive elements far outweigh the negative so much that I strongly recommend the *Majority Text* for every student of the Greek NT, regardless of his text-critical views. The negative elements of the work all seem to be capable of correction in subsequent editions. Most of the drawbacks were acknowledged by the editors as due to limitations of time and resources. Overall, I am sympathetic toward the editors in this regard, for I would much rather have the *Majority Text* in its present form than wait an interminable number of years before these bugs get worked out.

Certainly a review of this sort could end here. But I am unable to resist pursuing one last item. The editors of the *Majority Text*, although ostensibly basing their theory on the priority of external evidence (ultimately, however, even this textual theory must pay some attention to matters of internal criticism, or else stemmatics would be impossible), offer a most intriguing challenge: "excellent reasons almost always can be given for the superiority of the majority readings over their rivals" (p. xi). Since I cannot attempt anything like an exhaustive demonstration/refutation of this statement, a few suggestive examples will have to suffice. To an open mind, which has not already made an *a priori* rejection of the Byzantine text, the following four examples may tend to illustrate (though hardly prove!) the editors' thesis.

In Eph 5:9 we read ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτός in Nestle²⁶, ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος in the *Majority Text*. Metzger writes, in defense of the UBS³/Nestle²⁶ reading, "Although it can be argued that φωτός has come in from the influence of the same word in the preceding line, it is much more likely that recollection of Paul's reference in Ga 5.22 to ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος has led to the introduction of the word here" (*Textual Commentary*, p. 607). This view seems to presuppose that Gal 5:22 was as well known and oft-quoted a verse in the first century as it is today. Further, it is quite possible that φωτός happened by dittography (especially since in both P49 and κ the φωτός in v 8 is directly above the one in v 9). The likelihood of this is increased when it is realized that πνεύματος was a *nomina sacra*, abbreviated as ΠΝC (as in P46), rendering it more easily confused with φωτός.

In 1 Thess 1:10 we read that the Lord Jesus is the one who will deliver us "from the wrath" which is coming (ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς in Nestle²⁶, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς in the *Majority Text*). Metzger makes no comment on the variant because it is not found in the UBS³ apparatus. On a transcriptional level it is quite easy to see why a scribe would alter ἀπὸ to ἐκ: this verse speaks of our Lord as coming from heaven (ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν), as being raised from the dead (ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν), and as delivering us from the wrath (ἐκ/ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς). Either stylistic considerations or unintentional dittography could explain why a scribe would change ἀπὸ to ἐκ, though there are few, if any, transcriptional reasons for the reverse. If one wants to argue intrinsically, claiming that Paul could have intended a literary effect by a thrice-mentioned ἐκ, why did the apostle not avail himself of such an opportunity for style elsewhere in this epistle (note in particular 2:6 where both ἐκ and ἀπὸ are again used)?

In John 3:13 the Byzantine mss read ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ after ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

ἀνθρώπου, making explicit the omnipresence of the Second Person of the Trinity while he appeared on the earth. Metzger writes,

On the one hand, a minority of the Committee preferred the reading ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, arguing that (1) if the short reading, supported almost exclusively by Egyptian witnesses, were original, there is no discernible motive which would have prompted copyists to add the words ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, resulting in a most difficult saying (the statement in 1.18, not being parallel, would scarcely have prompted the addition); and (2) the diversity of readings implies that the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, having been found objectionable or superfluous in the context, was modified either by omitting the participial clause, or by altering it so as to avoid suggesting that the Son of man was at that moment in heaven.

On the other hand, the majority of the Committee, impressed by the quality of the external attestation supporting the shorter reading, regarded the words ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ as an interpretive gloss, reflecting later Christological development (pp. 203–4).

It is significant that the majority of the Committee based their rejection of this longer reading primarily on the *external* evidence and secondarily on the assumption that the reading reflects a higher Christology than is elsewhere detected in John. Certainly there is no case here internally, for we are not in a position to tell John how well developed his Christology could be! The Byzantine reading stands vindicated.

Finally, in Matt 24:36 the *Majority Text* does *not* make explicit the fact that the Son of Man, at the time of this utterance, did not know the day or hour of the Second Advent. Now it is clear that our Lord did declare his own ignorance on this occasion (cf. Mark 13:32). Metzger states that "The omission of the words because of the doctrinal difficulty they present is more probable than their addition by assimilation to Mk 13:32" (p. 62). The problem with this view is that the scribes would be expected to strike οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς from Mark 13:32 if they perceived a doctrinal problem with the phrase—regardless of which Gospel it appeared in. It is entirely possible, however, that theological reasons did cause the omission—but on the part of the author, not on the part of later scribes. Although this possibility cannot be fully developed here, it is significant that (1) Matthew certainly could not be charged with perverting or misrepresenting the words of Christ, for he makes *implicit* our Lord's ignorance by making *explicit* the Father's *exclusive* knowledge (εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ [μου] *μόνος*; Mark leaves out *μόνος*); and (2) Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as Messiah (who *will* establish his kingdom on earth, in spite of the fact that he did not do so in his first coming) dictates to a large degree his *selectivity* of material (cf., e.g., Matthew's use of Isa 42:1–4 in 12:18–21). Although I am undecided about this last text, there seem to be no *internal* reasons for rejecting the shorter reading.

Examples such as these have convinced me that at least sometimes, if not usually, the Byzantine mss bear a reading which can certainly be defended on internal grounds, thus vindicating to some extent the *Majority Text* editors' assertion.

In conclusion, I would like to extend my deep appreciation to Hodges and Farstad for producing a volume which is borne out of the noblest of all

human motives. And although I do not agree with the theory which lies behind this text, I am aware of the interlude between two great acts (as Eldon J. Epp put it) that the science of NT textual criticism finds itself in today. If we are to move on to the next act, we must take inventory of our presuppositions and of *all* the evidence. And the *Majority Text* both challenges our presuppositions and provides clear and substantial evidence with which every serious student of the Greek NT must wrestle in his search for the *ipsissima verba* of Holy Writ.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Decision Making and the Will of God

CHARLES R. SMITH

Decision Making and the Will of God, by Garry Friesen with J. Robin Maxson. A Critical Concern Book. Portland: Multnomah Press, 1981. Pp. 452. \$10.95.

As a seminary Director of Admissions I have had the opportunity of listening to scores of young men explain how they have discovered God's will for their lives, or discuss their difficulties in doing so. Accordingly, both due to natural interest and to occupational necessity, I have attempted to stay abreast of any worthwhile literature relating to decision making by Christians. When this book was presented to me this past spring I skimmed it in about one hour and immediately dashed off a note to the author saying, "I wish I had written that!" This book should be in every pastor's office and in every church library. It presents a sane and biblical approach to decision making. In harmony with the message of the book, Dr. Haddon Robinson remarks that "when we ask, 'How can I know the will of God?' we may be raising a pagan question." He then adds that "a better question to pursue is, 'How do I make good decisions?'" (Foreword, p. 13). That is the essence of the book.

The book is well organized and outlined in detail. Part One consists of a typical presentation of the "traditional view." Part Two critiques the traditional view and Part Three presents "the way of wisdom." Part Four is an application of the "wisdom view" to the various decision making processes of life. In my opinion, the most important part of the book is its critique of the traditional view (Part Two). This adequately warns against many of the common errors in interpreting God's Word and in "waiting" for divine guidance. Both Part Two and Part Three are worthy of extensive quotation in this review in order to convey the major ideas involved.

In responding to the common view that God has a detailed plan for each Christian's life, a plan which must be diligently sought by each believer, Friesen responds as follows:

But is that really the case? Does the wise father guide his child by formulating a plan that covers every detail of the child's life and then revealing that plan step-by-step as each decision must be made? Of course not. The father

who is truly wise teaches his child the basic principles of life. He teaches what is right and wrong, what is wise over against what is foolish. He then seeks to train the child to make his own decisions making proper use of those correct guidelines. Such a father is overjoyed when he knows that the child has matured to the point where he is able to function independently as an adult, making wise decisions on the basis of principles learned in his youth. The grown-up son or daughter is thereby prepared to live in the real world and make responsible choices with respect to mate, vocation, and the other decisions of life (p. 85).

To the question, "Does God have a plan for my life?", he responds, "If God's plan is thought of as a blueprint or 'dot' in the 'center of God's will' *that must be discovered by the decision maker*, the answer is no. On the other hand, we affirm that God does have a plan for our lives—a plan that is described in the Bible in terms that we can fully understand and apply" (p. 113, emphasis added, to be noted later).

He asserts that the traditional view "promotes immature decisions":

1. By permitting believers to justify unwise decisions on grounds that "God told me to do it."
2. By fostering costly delays because of uncertainty about God's individual will.
3. By influencing people to reject personal preferences when faced with apparently equal options.
4. By encouraging the practice of "putting out a fleece"—letting circumstances dictate the decision (p. 126).

The following difficulties in applying the traditional view are cited:

1. Ordinary Decision: The decision-making process must be abandoned in the "minor" decisions of life.
2. Equal Options: Insistence upon only one "correct" choice generates anxiety over "missing the dot" rather than gratitude for more than one fine opportunity.
3. Immaturity: In some instances, the logic of the traditional view tends to promote immature approaches to decision making.
4. Subjectivity: Certainty that one has found God's individual will is impossible apart from an objective source of knowledge (p. 137).

This approach does not deny the Holy Spirit's involvement in individual guidance. "Scripture also teaches that the Holy Spirit is actively, personally involved in the lives of believers, leading them in the fulfillment of his moral will. The Bible does not, however, teach that the Holy Spirit is providing direct guidance for believers in nonmoral decisions through some sort of inaudible, inner 'voice.' It is a fallacy to superimpose Paul's 'Macedonian Call' onto his comments regarding 'being led by the Spirit'" (p. 139).

Since so many Christians make the "peace of Christ" the ultimate "umpire" in determining whether or not a decision is within the will of God, Friesen quotes Abbott as stating that "the immediate reference here [Col. 3:15] is not to inward peace of the soul; but the peace with one another, as the context shows" (p. 112). In other words, "peace may be defined negatively as the absence of anxiety within a person (as in Philippians 4:6–7), or as the absence of hostility between persons. In Colossians 3:15, it is clearly the latter" (p. 142).

Friesen correctly insists that we should not be placing our emphasis on searching for God's specific leading with regard to personal decisions but that

the emphasis of Scripture is on God's moral will. In fact, the Bible reveals nothing of an "individual will" governing each decision. Rather, the teaching of Scripture may be summarized by these basic principles:

1. In those areas specifically addressed by the Bible, the revealed commands of God (His moral will) are to be obeyed.

2. In those areas where the Bible gives no command or principle (nonmoral decisions), the believer is free and responsible to choose his own course of action. Any decision made within the moral will of God is acceptable to God.

3. In nonmoral decisions, the objective of the Christian is to make wise decisions on the basis of spiritual expediency.

4. In all decisions, the believer should humbly submit, in advance, to the outworking of God's sovereign will as it touches each decision (pp. 151-52).

It is correctly noted (pp. 165-79) that the NT often refers to a believer doing what he *wishes* to do or as he *purposes* to do (see 1 Cor 10:27, 2 Cor 9:7).

The relationship of God's sovereign will to decision making is summarized as follows:

1. God's sovereignty does not exclude the need for planning; it does require humble submission to His will.

2. Circumstances define the context of the decision and must be weighed by wisdom . . . not "read" as road signs to God's individual will.

3. Open doors are God-given opportunities for service . . . not specific guidance from God requiring one to enter.

4. "Putting out a fleece" is an invalid practice that sometimes works when it is really wisdom in disguise (p. 225).

This matter of the relationship of God's sovereign will to decision making raises the only significant theological problem presented by the book. Friesen insists that God's sovereign will is *exhaustive*. It includes all things—even such matters as "the numbers that come up when dice are thrown" (Prov 16:33, p. 203). But if God's sovereign will is *exhaustive*, how can it be asserted that "the idea of an *individual will* of God for every detail of a person's life is *not* found in Scripture" (pp. 82-83)? Perhaps it would be better merely to insist, as Friesen later does, that

Since God's sovereign plan cannot be ascertained in advance, it has no direct bearing on the actual consideration of options or formulation of plans. God's sovereign will governs circumstances and provides open doors, but His moral will and wisdom are the determinative factors in the making of the decision itself (p. 225).

Within this scope one could assert that while God *does* have an individual will for every detail of our lives, it is not possible, or biblical (nor would it be beneficial or maturing for us as persons), to learn this will in advance of our decisions. This is why I added the emphasis to the quotation from p. 113. If God's will is exhaustive, it includes the details of individual lives but it is still true that there is no individual will "*that must be discovered by the decision maker.*" With this view we could agree with the statement, "The objective for

the believer is not to find the decision God has already made (as in the traditional view), but to make a wise decision" (p. 294). Having said all this, I want to admit that I do not know *why* God's plan would include all things—even such matters as which shoe I put on first. But I do not know when and how to exclude such items, and I prefer to say that God "has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." I know positively that nothing happens outside his will, and I agree with Friesen that we are not to expect God to reveal that will to us in advance as an aid (!) to our decision making.

Another minor concern relates to Friesen's terminology in evaluating Prov 3:5,6. He agrees with Bruce Waltke's widely circulated comments on this passage. Waltke has affirmed that these verses have "nothing to say about guidance," but that the passage merely promises that "He will make your path smooth." Accordingly, Friesen notes that the passage is "not dealing with specific guidance into an individual 'path' marked out by God" (p. 99). It would seem better to me to insist that the passage is very definitely related to divine guidance. The promise that God will make one's "path smooth" is a promise that God "will be in charge," that he will guide by his sovereign control over the events of one's life. This certainly involves "specific guidance into an individual 'path'"—though it does *not* promise that God will specify the details in advance. It seems difficult to me to legitimately fault the *meaning* of the KJV at this point. How is it possible to say that God "will make your paths straight" (NASB, or "smooth," Waltke), without affirming that in so doing he "shall direct thy paths" (AV)?

Very minor complaints could also be raised against the understanding of the word "mirror" in 2 Cor 3:18 as a reference to the Word (p. 107), and against using 2 Pet 3:9 as a reference to the "desire" of God (pp. 158, 232–33), but these and a few other even more minor matters are hardly worthy of note.

Though all the book is worth reading, the "heart" of the book is in Part Two (pp. 81–147) and I must admit that some of the remaining pages (151–430) seemed a little "draggy" and repetitive. This was also the evaluation of my son and of my father-in-law—though I am confident that anyone holding the "traditional view" and actually facing an important decision would be interested in every word.

Because of the importance of the subject and the general validity of the approach, I believe that this book should be "required reading" for every Christian who is interested in decision making. It is irenic, biblical, and Christ-honoring. It will be an aid to many Christians in helping them to be more biblical in their decision making—and is therefore worth shouting about! Highly recommended.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Archeology of the New Testament: The Mediterranean World of the Early Christian Apostles, by Jack Finegan. Boulder, CO: Westview; London: Croom Helm, 1981. Pp. xxxii, 250. \$36.50.

Twelve years after the appearance of Jack Finegan's most useful volume, *The Archeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton University, 1969), NT scholars are welcoming the publication of his companion volume, this time with new publishers. The format of this second volume is less grand than the first, has 23 fewer pages, and half as many illustrations and maps. Nevertheless it is a handsome book, is easy to read, and has an improved bibliographic apparatus.

The book is structured around the journeys of Paul, although other apostles are discussed in the chapter on chronological history. The front matter of the book includes a ten-page Alphabetical List of Ancient Sources, with a paragraph devoted to each entry such as Arculf, Eusebius, Homer, Marcion, and Xenophon. This section is an innovative and much-appreciated tool, one that is absent in most books or consigned to an appendix. In the first chapter on Sources, Finegan deals with the Book of Acts and its value as a historical document. He contrasts the traditions of F. C. Baur and William Ramsay, favoring the latter's opinion that Acts is an essentially reliable source. He places the writing of the book no later than the middle of the first century; in fact, he agrees with F. F. Bruce that it was written in Rome toward the end of the two years of Paul's imprisonment there.

A chapter on Chronological History includes a discussion of the date of Jesus' death and the milestones in the careers of Paul and Peter. With remarkable clarity Finegan deals with many complicated data including the Vatican, the Ostian Way, and the catacombs, although it is not always obvious why they are part of a chapter on chronological history.

The remaining six chapters trace the missionary journeys of Paul, exploring one by one the major towns and cities that figure in the biblical narrative. The reader should be prepared to find very little here of the archaeology of Syria-Palestine. The only Levantine sites that receive substantive attention are Caesarea, Damascus, and Antioch on the Orontes. This is disappointing to the reviewer because Palestinian archaeology received uneven and incomplete treatment in Finegan's first volume. We now have a two-volume set on the archaeology of the New Testament and virtually no systematic discussion of Qumran, Masada, Umm el-Jimal, Petra, Pella, Meiron, Baalbek, or Palmyra. There is no substantive coverage of the Dead Sea Scrolls or the Nag Hammadi codices.

There is an abundance of material that will greatly assist the NT scholar. A detailed history of each site is provided along with geographical information, archaeological data, biblical references, and even the strands of tradition that have attached themselves to various holy places. There is a wealth of illustrations—sites, buildings, statuary, inscriptions and city plans (although the latter often seem inadequate in view of the complex information discussed). Bibliographic references are scarce in chapters three through eight, certainly not enough to support extended research. There is a scripture index and modest subject index.

The book is a helpful synthesis and exposition of raw archaeological data—that stage in the interpretive process at which the fruits of excavation are digested and finally made useful to the biblical scholar and pastor. For some it will be too great a leap: they will look in vain for the “dirt archaeology” at which the title had hinted. They will find virtually no coins, no pottery, no attention to stratigraphical detail. What we do have, despite its limitations in scope, is a superb tool from the hand of a man who has previously led so many of us into the adventures of ancient history.

ROBERT IBACH, JR.

Soulen, Richard N. *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*. Second ed., revised and augmented. Atlanta, John Knox, 1981. Pp. 239. \$9.95. Paper.

Soulen's *Handbook* first appeared in 1976. The format is basically that of a dictionary. Technical terms, names of important persons, common abbreviations, and key tools are listed in alphabetical order. Over 600 entries are included in the handbook proper, with length varying from one line to a few pages. Soulen believes a revision is necessary because in the five years between the first and second editions a major revolution in biblical studies occurred. Citing J. D. Crossan, Soulen is convinced that this revolution “has transformed Biblical Studies from a single discipline to a field of disciplines, each with its own theoretical assumptions [*sic*] and methods so diverse and complex (even contradictory) that no one practitioner of Biblical criticism can master them all” (p. 5).

Be that as it may, the 1981 edition is a considerable improvement over 1976. Over 40 new articles have been added, covering such fields of study as Canonical Criticism, Semiology, Structure, Rhetorical Analysis, Biblical Theology, and Linguistics. Soulen has also revised or expanded 40 other articles. Bibliographies have been added for all major articles. A new Appendix proposes a simplified guide for writing an exegetical paper on the Synoptic Gospels (pp. 235–39). It should also be mentioned that the handbook proper is around 200 pages long (pp. 13–214). This is followed by an explanation of abbreviations used in textual criticism (pp. 215–19) and an explanation of abbreviations used for works commonly cited in biblical studies (pp. 221–31).

The strengths of this book are obvious. Where else could one go to find so much concise summary information on such a broad area as biblical criticism? The articles are clearly written, up to date, and to the point. The frequent listing of bibliographic information aids the reader in doing further

research. Of course, many readers of *GTJ* will not share Soulen's optimistic perspective on much of modern biblical studies. Neither will his position on Scripture be appreciated. It is his view that the doctrine of verbal inspiration is merely a fundamentalist response to biblical criticism (pp. 31, 208). Further, he seems to equate verbal inspiration with "mechanical inspiration" or the "dictation theory" (p. 208). This is a misrepresentation or at least an oversimplification. Most inerrantists would not agree that verbal inspiration was either mechanical or dictation. Due to Soulen's theological position, his book should be used with discernment. An evangelical approach to these matters can be found in *Biblical Criticism: Historical, Literary, and Textual* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978—also found in volume 1 of the *Expositor's Bible Commentary*). R. K. Harrison, B. K. Waltke, D. Guthrie, and G. D. Fee are the authors of this book.

Soulen's *Handbook* can be used with profit by everyone involved in scholarly biblical studies. Collegians and seminarians will find it a handy resource for understanding new names, terms, and abbreviations. Pastors and missionaries, especially those who minister to students educated in liberal circles, will benefit from the information contained here relating to current biblical studies. We should be aware of these studies even if we do not share the theological position behind them.

DAVID L. TURNER

The Two Horizons: New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description, by Anthony Thiselton. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980. Pp. 484. \$22.50.

Understanding the biblical text is of crucial importance for those who view the scripture as authoritative for all matters of Christian faith and practice. Yet, too often the problems of understanding an ancient text are not confronted and usually not even recognized. Anthony Thiselton has attempted to tackle some of these crucial problems and has succeeded in the highest fashion. The book, which began as a Ph.D. dissertation, contains the most comprehensive discussion of hermeneutical theory in print to date. Thiselton interacts with the writings of Heidegger, Bultmann, Gadamer, and Wittgenstein, not to mention numerous others who have written in the field of hermeneutics. The work is more than impressive in scope, size, and scholarship.

In a recent book review in a major theological journal, a reviewer criticized another author for expanding the definition of hermeneutics beyond that of "the rules of text interpretation." Yet, hermeneutics today is *not merely* the application of rules of interpretation to the biblical text to determine its meaning. The big problem facing hermeneutics is the gap that exists in time and culture between the biblical writers and the interpreter. With this separation comes a problem in understanding, for the whole cultural context of the interpreter is quite distinct from the biblical author. Thiselton has appropriately titled his book *The Two Horizons* because he is concerned with the problem as it exists at each end.

The contributions of biblical scholars have concentrated in the past on the historical meaning of the text, while those more inclined toward a

philosophical approach have concerned themselves with the meaning for today. Thiselton has carefully analyzed the contributions of philosophical hermeneutics with an open eye for the implications for NT studies. Philosophical (and theological) hermeneutics have carefully considered the question of presuppositions or pre-understanding (*Vorverständnis*). This is rightly done, because inquiry concerning presuppositions is actually the domain of philosophy. Thus the pre-understanding governs what one perceives in the text. According to Thiselton, the biblical interpreter is consequently faced with an awesome task: (1) he must be thoroughly conversant with both the content and backgrounds of the biblical text, and (2) he must be conversant in the methodology and content of philosophy. It is this second area where Thiselton's strengths are so apparent.

The four approaches with which Thiselton interacts find their common denominator in their attempt to make us aware of the contribution of the interpreter to interpretation. They all affirm in a resounding unity that it is impossible for the modern interpreter to eliminate his modern context by means of pure objectivism. It is precisely at the place of becoming aware of the modern context and its influence on the way one reads the text that one may come to a fresher, more accurate, and deeper understanding of the text. The major part of the book (part 3) is an in-depth look at these four approaches and the relationship and developments among each approach.

There are two lengthy chapters devoted to the "early Heidegger." Thiselton aptly discusses the ideas of "world" and "*Dasein*," yet leaves the reader wanting further explanation. It is most likely true that all readings of Heidegger and of explanations of his writings leave the reader with the same feeling. Thiselton communicates the big picture very well and leaves the reader with the impression that the "early Heidegger" is indeed very complex.

In comparison with the sections on Heidegger, the three chapters devoted to Bultmann are relatively easy reading (and certainly welcomed!). With the possible exception of James D. G. Dunn, Thiselton is more sympathetic to Bultmann than probably any evangelical to date. In my opinion (and it may be due to my bias for NT studies), the finest chapters (8–10) are found in Thiselton's incisive analysis of Bultmann (this may also be due to the fact that Thiselton himself has a bias toward NT studies, being the Senior Lecturer in Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield). It is shown rather convincingly that Bultmann is dependent in a complex way on a host of earlier thinkers, including those of neo-Kantianism, liberalism, 19th-century Lutheranism, the early Barth, and dialectical theology as well as Heidegger. Most of Bultmann's program of demythologization comes from a neo-Kantian dualistic world view and not so much from the "existentialism" of Heidegger. Thiselton notes especially the influence of theological liberalism as developed by Bultmann's teachers, Herrmann and Harnack. This is primarily accomplished in chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 10 is devoted to Bultmann and the NT in particular. It is here that Thiselton amplifies the concept of pre-understanding. For Bultmann, the idea of pre-understanding constitutes merely a starting point that is to be corrected in light of the text. What makes Bultmann determine in advance certain impossibilities of interpretation is not his hermeneutical theory as

such, but the theological response which is made to the legacy of neo-Kantian thought. Thiselton believes that it is not hermeneutical theory, but the application of it in practice that leads Bultmann astray.

Chapters 11 and 12 are discussions of Gadamer, the "later Heidegger," and the new hermeneutic. Thiselton places Gadamer in high standing, indeed much higher prominence, than the proponents of the "new hermeneutic." Gadamer's emphasis on tradition is seen by Thiselton as a valuable corrective to the individualism of Heidegger. But of course a true existentialist must be individualistic. Thiselton discusses the approach to hermeneutical theory of E. D. Hirsch in relation to Gadamer. While I think it can be seen that Thiselton advocates a normative hermeneutic to a large extent, he does not accept Hirsch's claim that attention to the present meaning of a text (which is Gadamer's strength) opens the door to a merely subjective interpretation. Here, as in several places in the book, Thiselton hammers home his simultaneous emphasis upon both horizons. The horizons of the text and of the modern reader must be given equal respect.

The final chapters plow new ground in the field. Many, according to Thiselton, have wondered why Wittgenstein and Heidegger have not been brought together in this field of study. It seems that Thiselton has been building throughout the entire book to the climax in Wittgenstein and the discussion of language (games). Thiselton demonstrates how Wittgenstein can be helpful in exegesis and theology. The example he uses is that of "justification by faith." By following Wittgenstein's approach of seeing x as y , a paradigm is developed for God seeing the sinner as righteous. Thiselton concludes that, following this language game, justification by faith can be seen in its forensic sense. It is primarily eschatological. Yet, it is not a paradox or contradiction as claimed by Bultmann and Bornkamm, nor is it to be understood fictionally following Sanday and Headlam. The illustration of the picture as a duck seen from one side and the same picture seen as a rabbit from the other is offered as a very helpful example (p. 418).

It seems as though Thiselton anticipates the question of why one should bother with philosophy from the very beginning of the study. In the theological circles in which we work, this question is particularly frequent, whether expressed or merely implied. It rests upon the idea that was mentioned earlier, that hermeneutics consists of interpretational rules. However, this approach consciously or unconsciously presupposes a particular answer to the question of how any understanding is possible. In other words, even the objection to the use of philosophy is itself a particular philosophical stance. Thiselton closes with the statement that the introduction of philosophical considerations into the hermeneutical debate, far from leading to a one-sided or distorted interpretation of the NT, will provide the interpreter with a broader pre-understanding in relation to which the text may speak more closely in its own right.

The hermeneutical circle seems grounded in the modern horizon for these four great thinkers. Is this descriptive method really only evaluative and if so, what is the standard? This is especially the case for the strict philosophical approaches of Heidegger, Gadamer, and Wittgenstein. Thiselton alludes to Cornelius Van Til early on in the book, so it is apparent that he is

familiar with him, and I believe a development Van Til would have provided an appropriate section.

The book is in one sense too detailed and comprehensive for anyone but the specialist to understand. Yet, in another sense it provides an excellent starter book for the student who has not read the primary sources. Even though it can be very helpful, it will take considerable effort on the part of the reader to grapple with the serious problems of contemporary hermeneutical theory.

The book seems to lack a final statement or conclusion. Is this so because there is no word to be said? Apparently at this stage in the discussions, this is the case. For many (or maybe for all) this will be quite frustrating. On the other hand, it will give the reader a running start as he attempts to develop his own working theory of hermeneutics. While the book is a veritable goldmine, it is possible that Thiselton attempted to do too much. On every page there are new names, representing a new slant on the problem. Yet, he has brought together as no one has done before a very profound understanding of the philosophical issues involved in the contemporary hermeneutical debate.

DAVID S. DOCKERY
BROOKLYN, NY

The Dominion Covenant: Genesis by Gary North. An Economic Commentary on the Bible: Vol. 1. Tyler, Texas: Institute for Christian Economics, 1982. Pp. 496. \$14.95.

The impetus for reading this book originated from the fact that it is dedicated to my esteemed colleague, Dr. John Whitcomb, and to his friend, Dr. Henry Morris. North praises them as pioneers in the creationist struggle with evolution (not for their eschatological or economic views).

This title would lead one to believe that this book would present either an exhaustive treatment of the dominion covenant, a commentary on Genesis, or a thorough exegetical defense of some system of "Christian economics." The author's name might lead one to expect an argumentation for the adoption of certain OT economic laws or for a revival of postmillennialism. There are "touches" of all of these issues, but none of them would adequately describe the book. The book is primarily a philosophic refutation of evolution and its consequences as explicated by the various humanistic systems of economic theory. It is slow reading, but for the most part interesting and helpful.

Though the book has 496 pages, the appendixes begin on p. 244. For this reader the appendixes were more interesting and profitable than the text itself. This was particularly true of Appendix C, *Cosmologies in Conflict: Creation vs. Evolution*. This Appendix presents an enlightening history of the introduction of evolution into the mainstream of contemporary thought. There is also a helpful annotated bibliography (but no bibliography of all the works cited in the notes), a Scripture index, and a subject index. This is the first volume in a proposed series of economic commentaries on the whole Bible. In this volume North selects approximately a score of phrases or

passages from Genesis which he employs for the 'economic freight' with which he loads them.

This reviewer does not wish to be classified by North as one of the "antagonistic critics and knit-picking scholars [who] are content to point out my grievous errors free of charge, just so long as they think their comments will make me look stupid and/or make them look brilliant" (p. xi). Accordingly, I will fully grant that I stand in awe of the author's erudition as indicated by his thorough acquaintance with a vast array of both well-known and almost unknown economists, scientists, and philosophers. At the same time I must agree with his admission in the Introduction: "I will undoubtedly misinterpret some verses, or overemphasize the economic implications of some passages" (p. xi). It does appear to me that North has fulfilled his prediction. In my opinion, the major problem with his work is the use of biblical *narratives* as both normative and prescriptive. This approach results in the use of the account of Jacob's bartering for the birthright as evidence of biblical support for the free market system. But when we later find that Joseph organized a system of centralized economic controls, we are told that this cannot be intended as normative because Joseph was in Egypt (pp. 230–31, 242) rather than in Canaan!

In a brief review of this nature it is impossible to interact with North at every pertinent point, but I would like to challenge his thinking on the following issues:

1. North holds a "traditional" and orthodox view of providence. For him the universe has not been "left to operate in terms of autonomous laws of nature" (p. 1). "Ours is not a mechanistic world" since it is "sustained by God on a full-time basis" (p. 2). I agree that God has not "left" the universe, but this does not require the conclusion that the universe does not presently function in a "mechanistic" fashion. To view providence as necessitating a continual influx of divine energy would seem to be a contradiction of the second law of thermodynamics which creationists rightly employ in their arguments against evolution. While Christianity *must* insist (with North and in opposition to Deism) that God created, cares, and intervenes, I believe that we should be more careful in the formulation of a truly biblical view of providence.

2. The general belief that "God has created time and space" (p. 6, in a quote from Van Til) needs more careful explication. This statement is not necessitated by the fact that God has created the objects which occupy space and has planned their activities and duration. It may be questioned whether the Bible teaches that *time* is limited (p. 440). What the Bible clearly teaches is that the earth (and the whole created universe) is limited.

3. North asserts that fundamentalists have "denied the existence" of the dominion covenant by not recognizing that they are responsible "to bring the whole world under the rule of God's law" (p. 28). But no fundamentalist would (or at least should) deny the existence of the dominion covenant, though he might well argue with North's understanding of the last quoted phrase.

4. North suggests that angels were created on the fourth day of creation (p. 66). The statements in Job 38 which are usually interpreted as referring to their appreciation of God's activity in "laying the foundations" of the earth

(and thus their creation on day one) are not discussed. He also implies that angels, including Satan, do not exist in the image of God. The facts relating to their personhood, moral responsibility, and titles ("Sons of God") would seem to suggest otherwise.

5. The entire discussion of Chapter 5, which contrasts "God's Week and Man's Week," is rather theoretical. North asserts that "they turned their backs on God and declared man's week" (p. 75), yet "the eighth day was to have been Adam's second day of the week" (p. 68). His argument is not lucid at this point. I am also unable to understand the assertion that "what Christians should understand is that the eighth day is a day of rest for us because this was the day of Adam's sin" (p. 70). Even if one should accept the tenuous arguments for Adam's sin and expulsion on the eighth day, the rest of this argument is far from compelling.

6. North assumes that one action of eating of the tree of life would have 'automatically' conferred "eternal life" (pp. 102-6). He does not discuss the interpretations which view *continued* eating as the key.

7. It is invalid to use Paul's prediction in 1 Tim 4:1-3 as a reference to a "'premature' establishment of mandatory vegetarianism." It is far better to understand him as referring to two characteristic doctrines of many centuries of Christian history—celibacy and asceticism, viewed as means of gaining spirituality. "Foods" include vegetables.

8. Since the demands of God are clearly distinct from the demands of Caesar, very few evangelicals will agree that "the function of civil government is to enforce biblical law, including modern applications of Old Testament law" (p. 129).

9. Not everyone will agree with North's contention that the slowing of population growth is both a mark of divine judgment and a mocking of God (pp. 162-75).

10. One may legitimately question whether Col 3:9 was intended to teach that lying to a fellow believer is more reprehensible than lying to an unbeliever (p. 187). Also, there is no exegetical basis for arguing that Jacob was rightly motivated in deceiving his father (pp. 184-96, 242).

11. Many will not agree with the assertions that "God requires a system of tithes" (p. 445)—certainly not from all nations and all people in all ages. Also, many will not agree that the "rending of the veil of the temple" indicated that the "unique position of the land of Israel departed from God's economy" (p. 445).

12. Only a handful will agree with North's postmillennial views which led him to assert that the age predicted in Isaiah 65 and 66 will not be brought in "by some discontinuous political event, or some miraculous intervention into the daily processes of the world, but by steady spiritual growth" (p. 448, cf. p. 123).

One very interesting feature of the book is that it includes a four-page flyer titled "How to Read *The Dominion Covenant: Genesis*." The flyer includes a list of questions to be answered by the book. Unfortunately, the questions stir more interest than do the answers that are given in the book. The instructions for reading are helpful. They include brief comments about the significance of the dust jacket. To North's comments I would like to add a word of suggestion for authors and publishers; namely, include a little

biographical information about the author. North's "credentials" are nowhere stated.

Evaluation: The book is not impressive either as a commentary or as an explication of a system of "Christian economics." Perhaps North should not be severely faulted at this point since the volume is intended to prepare a philosophical foundation for successive volumes in the proposed series. The primary value of the book is in its discussion of the history and development of evolutionary thought. It is highly recommended for anyone who wishes to better understand the thinking of Darwin and its influence, especially in the realm of economics.

CHARLES R. SMITH

Christian Unity: An Exposition of Ephesians 4:1-16, by D. M. Lloyd-Jones. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981. Reprint. Pp. 277. \$9.95.

David Martyn Lloyd-Jones died on March 1, 1981. This highly esteemed pastor and author was born on December 20, 1899. In 1938 he became G. Campbell Morgan's associate at Westminster Chapel, London, and in 1943 he became the sole pastor. He was an expository preacher *par excellence*. For further information on his life, see *The Banner of Truth* Issue 212, May, 1981. Incidentally, the dustjacket of *Christian Unity* dates his birth as 1900, which seems to be an error.

The format of the book will be familiar to readers of Lloyd-Jones. It is one of seven published volumes of exposition covering all of Ephesians except 5:1-17. The flyleaf indicates that the eighth volume was completed before Lloyd-Jones' death but it evidently has not been published at this writing. There are 22 expository studies in this volume. The theme of true Christian unity is brilliantly developed in a detailed manner. Of course, Lloyd-Jones' views on this were already stated in his booklet *The Basis of Christian Unity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962).

The excellencies of Lloyd-Jones' expositions are already well known and need not be detailed here. It will suffice to say that here one finds a rich blend of Reformed soteriology, faithfulness to the text, and evangelistic fervor. Lloyd-Jones begins (pp. 11-22) with a sensitive and accurate portrayal of the main transition in Ephesians (4:1). Here the "vocation" with which one is called is viewed as the effectual call to salvation (pp. 28-30). It is emphasized that "the unity of the Spirit" (4:3) is to be maintained, not created (pp. 40-41). Further, the impossibility of separating life from doctrine is underlined (p. 49). The emphasis of Chapter Six on revival is excellent. Lloyd-Jones believed that there was no hope for the church without revival (p. 71), yet he believed that a genuine God-sent revival should not be equated with an evangelistic campaign. Later in the book (p. 158) one finds some very wise statements on the "call" to missions: the need does not constitute the "call." It is refreshing in a book of this sort to see periodic references to the Greek text as the basis of the exposition (pp. 136, 148, 197, etc.).

The positions Lloyd-Jones takes on some important exegetical issues should be briefly highlighted. The "one faith" of 4:5 is objective, not subjective, but it refers to the essence of the gospel, not the full body of

Christian doctrine (pp. 107–9). The “one baptism” of 4:5 is viewed not as the ordinance itself but what the ordinance represents and signifies (pp. 122ff.). Eph 4:8, a notoriously difficult passage, is understood to say that Christ gave to men what he had already received from the Father (p. 152). “Leading captivity captive” involves no transferral of OT saints from sheol to heaven but is simply an expression of victory over enemies (p. 153). In 4:9 “the lower parts of the earth” is viewed as the earth itself (appositional genitive, pp. 156–57). Of the four classes of gifted men in 4:11, three, including evangelists, were temporary and have disappeared (pp. 191–92). Only the “pastor-teacher,” which is essentially one man or office, is a permanent gift or office (p. 193). In 4:12 “the work of the ministry” is understood as performed by the gifted men of 4:11, not by the saints who are equipped by these gifted men. *GTJ* readers may not agree with all these views, but they will find fair discussions of alternative possibilities also. It was Lloyd-Jones’ conviction that preaching should face difficult passages honestly without skipping over them (p. 158). With this I heartily concur.

A few minor shortcomings must also be briefly noted. I was puzzled by the insistence that the word “all” in 4:6 is masculine in gender (p. 136). The Greek words for “all” in the verse are πάντων and πᾶσιν, both of which could be either masculine or neuter. The context must decide whether the words are viewed as masculine or neuter. There is a “straw man” approach to dispensationalism on p. 149, where it is alleged that dispensationalists believe that God was surprised when the Jews rejected the Kingdom and that he instituted the Church as an afterthought, not part of his original plan. Informed dispensationalists have probably heard this misrepresentation before. A final weakness may be found in Lloyd-Jones’ discussion of Paul’s use of Ps 68:18 in 4:8. This is an admittedly difficult passage but it does not warrant the idea that there is a “double meaning in statements of the OT” (p. 150). It would be highly preferable to articulate this in terms of the typology of an author’s intended meaning or willed type of meaning.

This exposition of Eph 4:1–16, along with Lloyd-Jones’ other expositions of Ephesians, is highly recommended. All serious students of Ephesians will profit greatly. This is the type of preaching our churches so urgently need if they are to follow the biblical pattern: “So the churches were strengthened in the faith and grew daily in numbers” (Acts 16:5 NIV).

DAVID L. TURNER

Governmental and Judicial Ethics in the Bible and Rabbinic Literature, by James E. Priest. New York: KTAV, 1980. Pp. 313. \$17.50.

For anyone who has more than a passing interest in the study of ethics, this volume by James Priest is fascinating, informative, and in the “must read” category. This is particularly true for those of us who live in the Western world, for it is in studies such as this that one finds that many of our Western ethical and legal norms have their roots in the Hebrew nation.

The stated task of this book is “to trace that ‘long, slow striving for the victory of justice over force’ as it is discerned in biblical and rabbinical literature” (p. 1). Using the Torah and the Talmud as his primary resources,

Priest attempts to develop a "comprehensive presentation" of the "governmental and judicial ethics found in the Hebrew Scriptures and the literature of postbiblical Judaism" (p. 1). This volume is not a study of ethics *per se*, but is narrowly restricted to governmental and judicial ethics, with consideration of social and religious ethics, etc., held in such perspective as to influence the study only when considered appropriate (pp. 2-3).

The method of the book is a comparative analysis of the literature. It seeks to compare the two primary resources and note points of similarity and contrast. Moreover, it includes thematic points for the purpose of demonstrating the evolutionary character of particular laws or procedures from biblical into talmudic times (p. 5).

Chapter 1 is important since it lays the groundwork for the remainder of the book. It traces the concept and relationship of the "law" in both the biblical and talmudic literature. It begins with a brief description of the relationship of the Hebrew people to YHWH; this relationship being captured in the terms election, law, and covenant. Noting that law and government are critical to the survival of any nation, and that these elements often reveal the basic beliefs of a people, Priest develops the notion that the Torah was considered among the Hebrew people as the direct revelation given by their divine sovereign. Moreover, this revelation, extending from Abraham to post-exilic times, represented God's character and will for the people. It was designed to maintain the unique relationship between the people and their God by molding the Israelites into a law-abiding, morally superior, and just nation (pp. 11-25). The talmudic concept of the law of government, though much more complex in its development, is nicely analyzed. The salient point here is the fact that in the post-biblical era, the concept of Torah was broadened to include not only the Mosaic Law but other biblical writings (e.g., prophets and hagiographa). The basis for this inclusion was the essential agreement of these other writings with the pentateuchal writings (pp. 28-29). The transmission of this material began with Moses, was passed by the elders to the prophets, and ultimately to the men of the Great Synagogue (p. 29).

Concurrently the midrash process was producing a great volume of interpretations of the law, and the channel for this was rabbinical. Since this process was a human one, there was great latitude, conflict, and debate which developed; hence the variety of schools such as Pharisees, Sadducees, Shammai, and Hillel (p. 31). Nevertheless, the Sages, using Deut 17:9 as their authority, saw it as their divinely appointed task to preserve, interpret, and even expand upon the law, as well as to oversee its implementation. This became especially critical during the years following the destruction of Jerusalem (70 C.E.) and the very real and imminent threat to the survival of the Jewish nation and law. Eventually the great body of rabbinical material evolved into what is known as the Talmud (pp. 32-34).

Chapter 2, "The Governmental and Legal System in Judaism," reviews the origin, sources, and importance of the *halākhāh*, which was composed of the moral, ethical, and religious values which were to be "concretized" via daily practice (pp. 43-48). There are many fascinating segments in this chapter. For example, the author surveys the increasing role of the Rabbis as they labored to "preserve the intimate relationship between legal mandates

and ethical behavior" (pp. 48–49); as they assessed magnitude to crimes; as they imposed the "judgments of heaven" upon offenders (implying divine retribution); as they accrued more and more authority as the people became aware of the personal pleasure or displeasure to be rendered by the Rabbis; and as they developed the judicial procedures of the nation (pp. 48–59). Further, the Rabbis grappled with many issues that are reminiscent of contemporary issues. For example, the Sages worried about the rights of the accused and accuser, so they built into the structure safeguards that gave favor to the accused. They also dealt with possible "exceptions"—how to give the benefit of doubt to the defendant; the need to demonstrate the actual performance of a crime (as opposed to intent only); how to deal with those who are mentally or physically impaired; how to impose penalties when guilt was certain but "due process" was not advisable or necessary; and how to deal with people who take the law into their own hands, e.g., defend themselves by attacking the intruder or recovering one's own property, etc.

Chapter 3, "Enforcement of Judicial Ethics in Judaism," begins by noting the rabbinic conviction that the Torah came from YHWH, that it consisted in a specific number of commandments (613), that it was the basis for the governing of Israel, and that the duty of the people was to obey the commandments. God, then, was considered the ultimate authority in the nation. However, the tradition developed which envisioned the Rabbis as God's representatives in post-biblical Judaism and participants in the transmission of the law (pp. 73–80). Using Deut 1:13ff as their authority, the Rabbis established the court system, its officers, the various jurisdictions and case-loads, etc. (pp. 80–101). Further, it is clear that the integrity of the system was dependent upon the integrity of the officeholders (pp. 101–4).

Chapter 4, "Reward and Punishment in Judicial Ethics," establishes the theological principle that obedience to the law brought divine blessing while disobedience resulted in punishment. From this basic principle, the bulk of the chapter investigates the biblical and talmudic materials relating to the issue of capital punishment. The biblical data clearly indicate that this penalty was to be applied for a variety of offenses (criminal, religious, social, domestic); that the purpose was primarily for putting away evil from the nation as well as putting away the evil *one*; that it was designed to be a deterrent; that the methods were prescribed (hanging, burning, stoning); and that the severity of the method was occasionally construed to be related to the degree of divine displeasure (pp. 117–25).

On the other hand, the post-biblical era saw the Rabbis tend to adapt, limit, and even eliminate some of the more severe features of the law. Clearly they agonized over the matters of rule by law and a humane justice. So, they invoked three basic principles that governed the method of capital punishment: 1) love; 2) non-mutilation; and 3) removal of sins (i.e., the application could not be vindictive in character). So it was that the Rabbis grappled with the harshness of capital punishment, a phenomenon not at all unlike our contemporary debates over "cruel and unusual punishment" (pp. 125–42).

Chapter 5, "Judicial Ethics of Punishment Equal to the Crime," investigates the "measure for measure" principle which was rooted in the character of God and regulated by the Torah (e.g., Lev 24:19–20; Exod 21:23–25). On the other hand, the Talmud indicates that the Rabbis took a more lenient

view and in some cases mitigated the principle by erecting a system of monetary compensation (pp. 145–56). This chapter concludes by dealing with Gen 9:6 and the ethical considerations in capital punishment (murder was an outrage against and attack upon God himself); the rabbinic notion that capital crimes were the very reason why God brought down various dynasties and ultimately destroyed the Temple; and the biblical and talmudic provisions for and restrictions upon the *goel hadam* (“blood avenger”) and cities of refuge for those who accidentally killed someone (pp. 156–67).

The final chapter of substance, “Ethics of Government in War and Peace,” attempts to deal with the ethics of the government of Israel, cast against the backdrop of the convictions, motives, and perspectives of a nation convinced they were under the providence of God. The chapter is divided into two portions as the title suggests. The first portion deals with the types of warfare (justified, purging, regulated, holy); the theological attitudes toward war, i.e., that the nation acted in obedience to God and that victory would be attained in relationship to the obedience, courage, and purity of the leadership and people; and the rules of war which emerged having to do with punitive measures against enemy leaders. This “war ethic” also included restraints which regulated the tactic of siege, the treatment of captives (esp. women and children), honoring legitimate enemy rulers, and curbing unrestrained slaughter of people.

The second half of the chapter deals with the emphasis upon peace as the theme of the Bible and Talmud. It includes a rehearsal of passages from the Bible, Mishnah, Gemara, and other haggadic and talmudic writings, to develop “peace as the third pillar of the social world, along with justice and truth . . .” (p. 203). Rabbinic theories for peace are explained, in addition to their view of the king’s role in securing peace (i.e., his personal morality and his enforcement of the law). Indeed, legislation was to have peace as its motive. Peace was a religious, legal, and moral principle and was to be sought and implemented in every facet of national life.

The book concludes with a rather extensive and detailed recapitulation of each chapter and two excursuses, one dealing with the political role of kings in Israel and their relationship to the prophets. The second consists of selected materials from the Bible and Talmud comparing the literature on issues like the death penalty, *lex talionis*, divorce, self-defense, etc.

There are no major criticisms to be leveled against this volume, unless it is that its brevity at some points is disconcerting. Just when one’s appetite is whetted for more documented materials and discussion, the author moves to another point.

Among the valuable features of the book is its sizable scholarly bibliography and its multiple indexes (Hebrew Scriptures, Talmud passages, other miscellaneous writings, subject and author indexes, biblical personages, rabbis, editors, translators, places, etc.). Finally, the book includes a glossary of 36 entries. This excellently documented text is easily usable by readers of all levels of scholarship. While there are some Hebrew expressions, these are minimal and often translated and transliterated. There is a minimum of value judgments and interpretations by the author. The volume consists almost entirely of reporting and comparing the biblical and talmudic data, along with fair and helpful summary comments.

Priest, who is professor of biblical and religious education at Pepperdine University, has made an important and valuable contribution. His work is lucid, easily read, rapidly paced, and most informative. The production of the book is typically well done by KTAV in concert with the Pepperdine University Press.

W. MERWIN FORBES

Introduction to Theological Research, by Cyril J. Barber. Chicago: Moody, 1982. Pp. 176. \$9.95. Paper.

The past three decades have seen an exhilarating proliferation of tools for bringing bibliographic control to the discipline of theology, so much so that we now depend on guides to those tools such as John Bollier's *The Literature of Theology: A Guide for Students and Pastors* (1979), and Robert Kepple's *Reference Works for Theological Research* (1981). Cyril J. Barber filled a great need in 1974 with his *The Minister's Library* and its supplements. Now we welcome his *Introduction to Theological Research*, a very readable and useful volume aimed at college and seminary students. In fifteen chapters he introduces the neophyte to most of the essentials, from 19th-century Bible dictionaries to today's computerized information retrieval systems. In the process he constantly bears in mind the needs of students and gives anecdotes from his campus experiences that not only illustrate but also lighten the pages of a book that could be wearisome.

In chapters 5 through 9 Barber discusses atlases, concordances, commentaries, lexicons, and word study instruments. While other guides (Bollier and Kepple) have annotated listings of these same tools, Barber goes into more detail about how these tools function in the processes of Bible study. He does not shy away from the more sophisticated works, sometimes even showing how language tools can be used by those with limited language ability.

Another helpful technique is the inclusion of sample pages from key works, although some are poorly reproduced. James R. Kennedy, Jr., used this technique even more effectively by shading, labels, and arrows to illustrate features (*Library Research Guide to Religion and Theology*, 1974). Barber's selection of samples is sometimes perplexing. He has one page each from Hasting's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* and *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, both simple compared to the crucial *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus*, for which there are no samples.

One might detect a slight preference for older works, even where newer works show an improvement. For example, the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1939-44) is featured on pp. 27, 31, and 32, while the superior *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1972) receives brief and subordinate attention. Likewise, Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1868-96) is included but not the three-volume *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (1980). Two paragraphs are devoted to the fifteen-year-old *Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, but barely a sentence to the frequently updated *Mission Handbook* (12th ed., 1979).

In chapter 11, Barber treats most of the important indexes (which he persists in calling "indices") and abstracts. It would be helpful to expand this

chapter, now one of the shortest in the book, to include more sample pages of these very complex tools. There could be more suggestions on search strategy, such as a scripture citation approach, one of the easiest ways to use *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus*, or a Greek and Hebrew vocabulary approach, useful with *Religion Index One* and *Two* and with *E.B.B.*

The most glaring weakness of Barber's work is that the very elements that make a book easy to use are missing: indexes, bibliographies, and a detailed table of contents. It is surprising that a book of this character has no index. I personally intend to use this book repeatedly, not just read it once. If I want to see how Barber evaluates *Sacramentum Mundi*, for example, there is no index to locate it for me. Further, there is no bibliography to tell me that it is even included in the book (or to identify the place of publication, publisher, and number of pages, information that is not included in the text). And if I seek help in the table of contents I am confronted with three chapters titled "General Reference Works." There is nothing left but to assume that *Sacramentum Mundi* is a "general reference work" (a questionable rubric) and begin thumbing through those three chapters. If a person wants to read about Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* he will search in vain in the chapter on "The Use of Concordances"; only by fortuity will he notice that it is discussed in the chapter on "New Dimensions in Bible Study," a chapter which actually presents no new dimensions.

One interesting and commendable feature is Barber's invitation to readers to suggest changes and additions for future editions of the book—he even gives his personal mailing address. This review has been sent to him along with some suggested corrigenda. For now I expect that *Introduction to Theological Research* will be just that for many grateful college and seminary students.

ROBERT IBACH, JR.

The God-Men: An Inquiry Into Witness Lee and the Local Church, by Neil T. Duddy and the Spiritual Counterfeits Project. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1981. 2nd edition. Pp. 155. \$4.95. Paper.

Researchers Neil Duddy and the staff of the Spiritual Counterfeits Project have combined their efforts to investigate exhaustively the teachings of Witness Lee and the Local Church. This task was made more difficult by the fact that the Local Church itself has produced no systematic doctrinal statement of its peculiar hermeneutical approach to Scripture. It was necessary for the researchers to literally "plow through volumes of Witness Lee's material (ten books, plus many booklets and pamphlets)" (p. 82). By systematizing Lee's material into a comprehensive presentation of the Local Church movement, the researchers have made available to the Christian world for the first time a clear picture of this ambiguous, experiential belief system.

The sub-title of the book, "An Inquiry Into Witness Lee and the Local Church," clearly states the purpose of the writer. This "Inquiry" proposes that the Local Church is not "basic Christianity," but rather something like a "Gnostic-Eastern Holy-Rollerism" (p. 8). The goal of the book is to respond

to "the many inquiries from concerned Christians across the nation and around the world" (p. 10), and to document Local Church doctrine and conduct (p. 8).

I especially appreciated not only the presentation of the major doctrines of the Local Church as culled from the teachings, writings, illustrations and responses of Witness Lee, but also the comparison made by the researchers of these teachings to the traditional views of the orthodox Christian Church. Another service provided is interpretive help in understanding the particularistic, technical vocabulary employed by the Local Church. Without such help, many have difficulty comprehending such expressions as "the released soul floats up to touch the Spirit," after which the soul obtains the ability to confine and control the Spirit through techniques such as "killing," "pray-reading," "calling on the name of the Lord," "releasing," and "eating and drinking the Lord." If the faithful have diligently employed these techniques, a church (the Local Church) develops, composed of members who are "burned and buried," "out of their minds and into their spirits," "catching the flow from the throne," and ready to claim "local ground."

The book would have been stronger had the writers developed more fully, rather than just hinting at, what I believe to be an important syncretistic element in the Local Church. This element alone would be reason enough to deprive the Local Church of the name "Christian." For example, the writers point out (p. 83) that "Witness Lee is an Asian who relocated in the West at nearly sixty years of age. No doubt certain structural elements in his teaching (e.g., the deification of humanity, introspective meditation) are Eastern cultural emphases. . . ." In the appendix (p. 137), Brooks Alexander gives more detail: "The Local Church uses certain psycho-spiritual techniques to guide the experiences of its members into a sense of mystical transcendence. . . . Appearing throughout the non-Christian religions of the world, these techniques . . . are entirely foreign to biblical Judaism and Christianity." Repetition "appears in the 'mantra,' the repetitious sound of Hindu meditation used by both TM and the Hare Krishna movement." Again, Brooks Alexander states, "Consciousness of the outside world also recedes under the impact of the Local Church's repetitious techniques of 'pray-reading' and 'calling on the name of the Lord.'"

In view of the above quotations, the writers from their own evidence might well have drawn the obvious conclusion that the Local Church is simply a mixture of Hindu metaphysics baptized into Christianity, resulting in a Christopaganism foisted on the unsuspecting Christian community of the West.

Apart from these observations, I commend the writers of the *God-Men* for exposing the non-Christian practices and doctrines of Witness Lee and the Local Church. They have performed a valuable service to Christ's true Church by warning it of this threatening heresy which has split many churches. I accordingly recommend the book highly to Christian students who need to discern between truth and error in a confusing age.

S. WAYNE BEAVER

Love Covers: A Viable Platform for Christian Unity, by Paul E. Billheimer. Christian Literature Crusade, 1981. Pp. 164. N.p.

There is much of value in *Love Covers*. None of us has yet passed the stage of needing exhortation to be more loving. I especially appreciate Billheimer's attempt to deal with conflicts over Calvinism and Arminianism and the sign gifts. He also gives a useful description of some of the objectionable behavior of charismatics.

But I was troubled by his handling of the central message of the book. Concerning the concept of unity, there are a few clear declarations which Billheimer appears to destroy by his over-all tone and applications. He advocates unity in diversity (or a spiritual and idealistic, not a formal, organizational ecumenism) (p. 64). Yet the tone and illustrations in the treatment of doctrine (p. 29) and morals (p. 39) and the unqualified attacks on fragmentation (p. 115), disunity, or judgmentalism (p. 127) appear to destroy all possibility of a valid diversity and condemn all ecumenism that remains only spiritual and idealistic. He appears to make a blanket condemnation of any attempt to exercise discernment and discipline in our relationships with professing Christians. He makes no attempt to define the "judging" of Matt 7:1 in the light of other Scriptures which define the right kind of judging.

Agape love may be a misnomer for some of what Billheimer seems to be advocating. He advocates love for those having different standards (p. 38). Standing alone, this is well taken. However, when combined with the unqualified attack on "judgmentalism," the issue seems to be as much liberty as it is love. Is church discipline loving or unloving? Is it loving to take a "Black Sabbath" rock album away from your children? Apparently neither action is intrinsically loving or unloving, but in both liberty is curbed. Billheimer could be accused of appearing to attack such curbing of liberty. In any case his book will certainly be popular among those who rebel against authority. This recalls a paragraph in *The Screwtape Letters* (p. 117):

The use of Fashions in thought is to distract the attention from their real dangers. We direct the fashionable outcry of each generation against those vices of which it is least in danger and fix its approval on the virtue nearest to that vice which we are trying to make endemic. The game is to have them all running about with fire extinguishers whenever there is a flood, and all crowding to that side of the boat which is already gunwale under.

The Christ of the Scriptures lays exclusive claim to our service, our devotion, our lives. If we apply Christ's own warnings in Matt 24:4, 24, we will be very careful about the object of our faith. Billheimer appears to neglect this attitude. In two basic definitions the object of our faith appears to be neglected: (1) the definition of what doctrine is essential for fellowship (p. 28), and (2) the definition of judgmentalism (p. 127). One looks in vain for passages that exalt Christ by setting him over against all rival objects of faith, as do all of the Scriptures. Beyond this, it is clear that if we respond to the exclusive claims of Jesus Christ, this is going to exclude fellowship with some

who would lay other claims upon us but do not acknowledge Christ's incarnation (2 John 10). And Christ's ethic requires that when necessary, fellowship with a brother be broken on moral grounds (1 Corinthians 5, Matt 18:17).

In contrast to this, Billheimer appears to use the tactic of terror against any and all who would dare break fellowship. He appears to treat breaking fellowship as incurring guilt before God and warns of retaliation. He would leave us the impression that a communist takeover, or the coming of anti-Christ, are the result of breaking fellowship. I personally feel that the book could be laying an impossible burden on sensitive souls who will try to experience unity with just about anyone, including professing Christians, who deny the essential attributes of Christ or who are living in immorality.

As servants of Christ we are primarily concerned to be united with those whose life and ministry are Christ-centered. The NT secret of *that* unity is to be more and more Christ-centered ourselves. And the correct attitude to the Scriptures is to take all of it as authoritative, in contrast to taking a part of the Scriptural data and making it normative and central in our teaching. Billheimer's thesis that authority was conveyed to the church by God's decree needs to be verified by the Scriptural teaching of the necessity of a Christ-centered life, doctrine, and worship; "not I, but Christ" (Gal 2:20).

The "love" depicted in the book is called "*agape* love"; but to match the teaching concerning *agape* in the Scriptures, it needs several elements. In the horizontal relationships there are the elements of counseling, exhortation, reproof, discipline, and correction (seeking the *highest* good of the person loved). In the vertical relationship, there is the element of obedience to Christ's commandments (2 John 6). It appears that what is called holiness or legalism today is often only what was considered normative for Christians as few as twenty years ago. While a quote from Dr. Spence recognizes this situation (p. 82), Billheimer does not seem to come through as clearly as Spence. Spence, in fact, condemns the great emphasis on love without the realization that we are in a desperate kind of conflict and apostasy (p. 83). Billheimer recognizes the problem of moral laxity, but he only uses Spence's statement to try to demonstrate that holiness and charismatic people should love one another. In keeping with the emphasis on love, I do not find in *Love Covers* a recognition that some doctrines and practices (even popular ones) could be demon-inspired and a danger to the church, needing steadfast resistance—in a spirit of love.

I see two other red flags in *Love Covers* that are in the area of epistemology. Billheimer adds to the words of Scripture (p. 143) by adding the words "the unity of" to 1 Cor 11:29–30. This is all the more dangerous because if his addition changes the sense of the passage, it is in the direction of his presupposition, not away from it. And (in an Epilogue) he appears to take his own experience to be normative. This unfortunately raises the question of just how objective he is being in his book, and also of how much of his emphasis is, in fact, based upon the three experiences mentioned in the Epilogue.

DICK HELDENBRAND
WARSAW, IN

New Testament Theology, by Donald Guthrie. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1981. Pp. 1064. \$24.95.

Donald Guthrie has amassed a lifetime study of the NT in this extraordinary volume. It is a masterpiece of evangelical scholarship. The Introduction alone is worth the purchase of the book. In the Introduction, he surveys the development of NT Theology, discussing strengths and weaknesses of various methodologies. He also treats the issue of the relation between history and theology. Guthrie divides his study into ten categories, which tend to parallel the historical development of systematic theology categories. Students of George Ladd's *Theology* will note this different methodological approach. The ten themes are: God, Man and His World, Christology, The Mission of Christ, The Holy Spirit, The Christian Life, The Church, The Future, The New Testament Approach to Ethics, and Scripture. The last two categories are especially helpful.

The work is quite comprehensive and the author is conversant with a wide range of scholarship, a fact that is made evident in the 37-page bibliography. One quickly notices the balance between American, British, and German scholarship. The major German scholars are not overemphasized to the neglect of the best in evangelical scholarship. The indexes are also very useful.

A pattern develops in each chapter as Guthrie examines a biblical theme in light of: the synoptic gospels, Johannine literature, Acts, Pauline materials, Hebrews, and then the rest of the NT. It comes as no surprise for those familiar with Guthrie's previous works to see his acceptance of Pauline authorship for all thirteen books traditionally attributed to Paul. In a day when contemporary scholarship can only agree on seven to ten of the letters as having Pauline authorship, this is commendable.

There are certain areas of interpretation that will be questioned by many. For a volume of this size, that is to be expected, and to do so would be improper quibbling in light of its outstanding characteristics. I will mention only that the sections on Scripture, Ethics, and The Holy Spirit are outstanding. His eschatology has an appropriate emphasis upon present-future aspects of the Kingdom, but tends to be amillennial. His soteriology falls in the Reformed camp. The section on God and his attributes and titles makes uplifting reading.

If there is a drawback, it is the size of the book. It is almost too large for a classroom text. It could be used for reading in a biblical or systematic theology class. There is no better book of its kind on the market (Ladd's included). It is the one book I have found myself referring to on almost a daily basis. For the information and resources that it puts into one's hand, the price is quite affordable!

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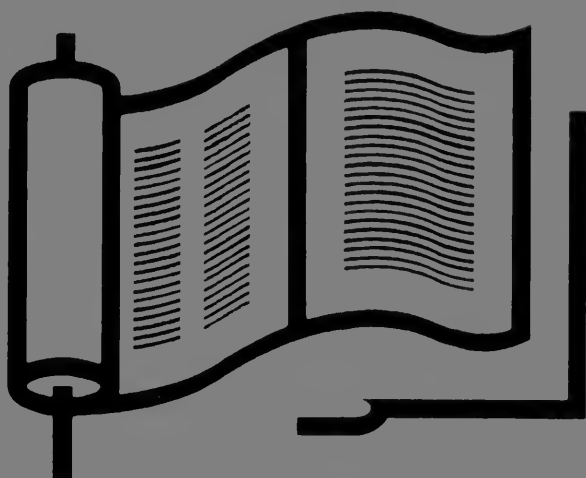
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THE PURPOSE AND PROGRAM OF THE PROPHETIC WORD*

HERMAN A. HOYT

THE subject of this study is the purpose and program of prophecy and is suggested by three passages of Scripture. The first is recorded in Rev 4:11: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor, and power; for Thou hast created all things; and for Thy pleasure they are and were created." Two others are from the book of Ephesians: Eph 1:11: "In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will"; and Eph 3:11: "According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The all-consuming purpose of God in the creation of the universe was to establish a kingdom in the earth where he could make a display of his glory in the person of his son. This public exhibition was made to creatures made in his own image and therefore capable of apprehending, appreciating, and applauding his glory.

This eternal purpose centered in Christ Jesus our Lord, who eventually entered the stream of history as the incarnate Son of God. And this eternal God, forever the image of the invisible God, was at last to be brought within the grasp of men by becoming flesh and dwelling among them (John 1:14). "Being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Heb 1:3; Col 2:3), he would lead out and unfold like a teacher all the truth about God (John 1:14).

From the beginning of creation this eternal purpose has been in the process of being realized. Historical and predictive prophecy are the record of this projected accomplishment. Historical prophecy marks out the program through the past and it also declares what is taking place in the present. Predictive prophecy points to the triumph that lies ahead.

In this study I outline briefly the entire span of God's purpose and program, covering the scope of both historical and predictive prophecy.

*Dr. Hoyt is the President Emeritus of Grace Theological Seminary. This article was originally a sermon delivered in seminary chapel on January 20, 1983.

GOD'S GLORY IN EDEN

At the outset of creation God placed the cherubim and the infolding fire in the Garden of Eden to display his glory among men. Gen 3:24 reads: "And God placed at the east of the Garden of Eden cherubims and a flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life."

Thus, a representation of God appears in the very beginning of Scripture and centers in the infolding fire appearing between the cherubim at the east of Eden, guarding any approach to the tree of life. The Hebrew of Gen 3:24 seems to say that God caused the cherubim to dwell in this location. They are described in more detail in the first chapter of Ezekiel. Between the cherubim was an infolding fire shooting tongues of fire in every direction which was declared to be the appearance of the likeness of the glory of God (Ezek 1:4, 28).

Revelation and communication of God with men is indicated by this declaration. By reference to the account of the tabernacle and the temple, it appears that God displayed something of his glory in the infolding fire appearing beneath the cherubim and above the mercy seat (cf. Exod 25:8, 22 with Ps 80:1). There God communicated with Adam and perhaps also with his seed, until the time of the flood (Gen 3:8), though we have no information concerning how long this arrangement continued or when it was concluded. But it would appear that the antediluvian saints learned of God in this way. There Abel and Seth and Cain learned about sacrifice and offerings. And finally, Cain turned his back on it, and the Word says, "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord" (Gen 4:1-15).

But in addition to representation and revelation, there was also in this depiction not mere expulsion from the face of God, but also the method of approach to God. It contained the way of redemption back to God. This infolding fire was above the mercy seat, as described in Exod 25:18. It was here on the day of atonement that the blood was sprinkled and God met with men in redemption. All this pointed forward to that day when the Son of God would make propitiation, he himself being the place or mercy-seat where it was made, and he himself the propitiation (Lev 16:2).

GOD'S GLORY MANIFESTED TO THE PATRIARCHS

During the long period from the flood to Mount Sinai, God made repeated manifestations of his glory to the patriarchs.

God manifested himself to Noah, and Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord (Gen 6:8). Upon numerous occasions God communicated his will to Noah (Gen 6:13; 7:1; 8:15, 20; 9:8). At last he assured Noah that he would dwell in the tents of Shem (Gen 9:27).

To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, God appeared upon numerous occasions and assured them that he would keep his covenant that he had made with them (Gen 50:24). He came to Abraham when he was in a deep sleep, and Abraham saw a smoking furnace and a burning lamp pass between the divided pieces of animals in the making of a covenant (Gen 15:1–18). Here God the Father and God the Son were sealing an unconditional covenant with Abraham. While in flight from Esau one night, Jacob had a dream in which God confirmed the covenant that he had made with Abraham. This had such a tremendous effect upon Jacob that he was convinced that he was in the house of God and had come to the very gate of heaven (Gen 28:10–22). On his return to his homeland, he met with the preincarnate Christ and wrestled with him until the break of day (Gen 32:24–32; Hos 12:4).

To Joseph and to Moses and the children of Israel God exhibited his glory. He met Moses at the burning bush (Exod 3:1–6). Through Moses he declared to Israel, “Did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?” (Deut 4:33). The account goes on to say, “And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel” (Exod 24:16–17).

GOD’S GLORY IN THE TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE

At Sinai and for more than a thousand years thereafter, the glory of God dwelt in the tabernacle and the temple among the children of Israel.

At Sinai Israel was organized into a kingdom with the tabernacle at the center. Moses followed divine instruction and under his leadership the work was finished (Exod 40:33). The Scriptures say that immediately “a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle” (Exod 40:34–35). For a thousand years this glory appearing above the mercy seat and between the cherubim was the rallying point of revelation and redemption in Israel.

From Sinai to the land of promise, through the entire wilderness, the tabernacle was always at the center of the encampment of Israel. This nation was a theocracy. God was the one who ruled in Israel and Moses was his mouthpiece to the people, but at the center was the glory of the God of Israel. The Scriptures say, “When the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward

in all their journeys: But if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up. For the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel throughout all their journeys" (Exod 40:36-38). The children of Israel were exposed to this display of God's glory throughout those forty long years of wilderness wanderings.

Once the people came into the land, the glory of the Lord continued to abide in the tabernacle until the temple was erected. It was ever in its place over the ark of God above the mercy seat. It was this presence that encouraged the people of Israel in conflict with the enemy. Upon one occasion, when confronting the Philistines, the ark was taken by the enemy, and a woman giving birth to a child named him Ichabod, meaning "The glory of the Lord is departed from Israel" (1 Sam 4:21-22). The calamities that befell the Philistines, because of the presence of the ark, forced them to return it to the Israelites (1 Sam 6:21). Even though the glory of the Lord continued to dwell above the ark, first in the tabernacle and later in the temple, the deteriorating quality of dedication and devotion and the drift into wickedness on the part of the people at last led to the departure of this sacred and wonderful manifestation of the Lord. This event is depicted in the book of Ezekiel: "And the glory of the Lord departed from off the threshold of the house . . . and went up from the midst of the city, and stood on the mountain which is on the east side of the city" (Ezek 10:18, 11:23).

GOD'S GLORY IN THE INCARNATION

In the fullness of time, the glory of God made permanent dwelling in flesh and appeared temporarily on the earth among men.

At this point God's eternal purpose came into focus. "The word became flesh and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (John 1:14). The one "who is the image of the invisible God" (Col 1:15)—"For in him dwelleth all the fullness of God bodily" (Col 2:9)—came within the grasp of men. Until this time "no man had seen God at any time; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath led him out and unfolded him like a teacher" (John 1:18).

By miracle of word and work, he manifested the glory of God (John 2:11). The beginning of miracles, signifying his identity, began in Cana of Galilee when he made the water blush and become wine (John 2:1-11). From a distance he healed a nobleman's son (John 4:46-54). A man afflicted with an infirmity for thirty-eight years, so that he was rendered immobile, was made to walk by a word of authority (John 5:1-9). A teeming multitude of perhaps 15,000 people,

languishing for need of food, was fed from the paltry source of five loaves and two small fish (John 6:1-14). Twelve full baskets remained, a basket-full for every disciple. He walked away from this crowd which was clamoring to make him king, and he came to his disciples, treading upon the boisterous waves of the sea (John 6:15-21). A man blind from birth was given his sight (John 9). A beloved brother dead for four days was raised from the grave (John 11). And above and beyond all this, when he himself had been entombed for three days, he broke through a rock-hewn, sealed tomb, without so much as disturbing a molecule of stone or rearranging the graveclothes in which he had been laid to rest. In the course of his ministry, all of this was crowned by miracles of word which mystified and mortified the people and the officials of Israel.

But the fullness of his glory was veiled. That glory which he had with the Father before the world was (John 17:5), was laid aside when he became flesh, not in the sense that he became anything less than God, or had given up any attribute of God—for he was still essentially God, possessing every attribute of God—but only in the sense that he gave up the independent exercise of those attributes. He emptied himself. He gave up his reputation and he took the form of a servant, so that he was completely under the direction of the Father. Every motion he performed, and every word he spoke was authorized and directed by the Father (John 5:36, 8:28, 12:49-50). Only those eyes that were touched by the Spirit of God were able to see God manifest in flesh. "He came unto his own, and his own received him not" (John 1:11). Nevertheless, here is the token that someday he will come again and establish that kingdom where his glory will be seen and acknowledged by all.

GOD'S GLORY IN THE CHURCH

In the person of the Spirit, the Son of God manifested his glory in a new society of believers called the Church.

The departure of Christ did not interrupt the purpose of God. It merely marked a transition to a new phase in the fulfillment of that purpose. With the coming of the Spirit on the day of pentecost, Christ took up his dwelling in that mystical body, the Church (John 14:16-17, 16:7). Therefore, his going did not leave them orphans (John 14:18), for he would be living in them (John 14:19-20), and in this sense the triune God would make the Church an eternal habitation (John 14:21-23). This tabernacle would take its place finally in the eternal state to display subjectively the excellencies of God (Eph 2:7; Rev 21:3). Christ had already imparted to the Church the glory which the Father had given him, for he said, "the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them" (John 17:22). Believers have become epistles

of Christ, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart (2 Cor 3:3). And so the Apostle Paul said, "Shall not the ministration of the spirit be with glory?" (2 Cor 3:8). "For we all, with unveiled face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are being changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Lord, the Spirit" (2 Cor 3:18).

However, the glory of Christ as exhibited in the Church is not recognized by the world. The love that the Father has bestowed on believers, so that they are not only called but actually are the children of God, produces no positive response from the world. "The world knoweth us not, because it knew him not" (1 John 3:1). The gospel is hidden to those that are lost. The god of this world brings his own influence to bear on the minds of men, so that those who believe not are blinded, "lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them" (2 Cor 4:4). Even though the world does not recognize or appreciate the ministry of the Church in displaying the glory of Christ, believers are urged to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who works in them both to will and to do of his good pleasure. And it is still true that they shine as lights in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation (Phil 2:12-15).

However, this glory of Christ as displayed in the church is recognized and received by the chosen of the Lord. "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 4:6). Believers have not yet reached the point of perfection. "It does not yet appear what we shall be. But we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2). Believers are progressively being transformed into the same image, from one state of glory into another, so that at last the great work of Christ will be completed when we shall be conformed to the image of his Son (2 Cor 3:18; Rom 8:29). In this fact there is not only the display of the glory of God but also the method for reaching others who belong to the chosen of God but who have not yet made a profession of faith. Therefore, the Apostle Peter exhorts us "to show forth the praises of him who hath called us out of darkness into his marvelous light" (1 Pet 2:9).

GOD'S GLORY IN THE SECOND COMING

At the second coming of Christ, the Son of God will come in his glory to sit upon the throne of his glory, and the whole earth will shine with his glory. This period will be ushered in by the coming of Christ in glory (Matt 24:27-30) as is often stated in the NT. This

means that there will be public exhibition of his divine attributes. His appearing will be sudden, instantaneous, catastrophic. His coming will be personal, visible, bodily, in power, and unexpected. Every eye shall see him (Rev. 1:7). Every tribe shall mourn (Matt 24:30). Every government shall crumble (Dan 2:34–35, 44). The Antichrist, then at the peak of his power, will be smitten with the sword of his almighty word and the armies under his direction shall be slain. Antichrist and the false prophet will be immediately cast into the lake of fire and Satan will be consigned to the bottomless pit for a thousand years.

That period will continue with the exercise of authority from the throne of his glory (Matt 25:31). The throne signifies the area of authority and the authority will be the exercise of his attributes. The entire period will be characterized by the progressive subjugation of all enemies: "For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet" (1 Cor 15:25). To assist him, he will commit to the perfected spiritual nobility (the Church, the OT saints, and the tribulation martyrs) the responsibility of ruling and reigning with him (Rev 20:6, 4; Dan 7:22). Politically, there will follow the judgment of living Israel (Ezek 20:33–38) and the Gentile nations (Matt 25:31–46). Saved Israel will enter the kingdom, and the rebels will suffer death. Saved Gentile nations will enter the kingdom, and the lost will be confined in Hades to await the great white throne judgment. Spiritually, true worship will be restored and compelled. All nations will come to Jerusalem to worship the king, the Lord Jesus Christ (Zech 14:16–19). Physically, there will be changes in the surface of the earth, and the curse will be partially lifted (Zech 14:4, 10; Isa 30:23–26; 32:13–15; 33:24; 35:5–6; 65:21–25; 11:6–8).

The period concludes with the whole earth shining with his glory. You can read that statement in Ezek 43:2. The millennial temple is filled with the glory of the Lord in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. The emanation of that glory, as it reaches the far corners of the earth, causes the whole earth to shine with his glory. There is no aspect or detail of life that is not touched by this sacred presence. The lifting of restrictions on conduct and the release of Satan from his prison at the end of the millennium develop into a final rebellion which is cut short by divine wrath and results in the death of all wicked men and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire forever (Rev 20:7–10). Then comes the final discharge from the throne of God. It takes on all the awe-inspiring aspects of the holiness of God. There is no color to relieve the unrelenting whiteness of that throne. There final judgment is meted out upon all the wicked for their deeds (Rev 20:11–15). The kingdom will have reached its completion and perfection, and Christ will deliver it into the hands of the Father (1 Cor 15:24–28). Reconstruction of the physical environment then prepares the way for the perfect kingdom (Rev 21:1).

GOD'S GLORY IN THE ETERNAL STATE

At last the supreme purpose of God will be realized when Christ is established as the temple and the center of illumination for the eternal state. Note four aspects of Christ's centrality.

First, at the *highest spiritual level*, Christ will serve as the temple during the eternal state. Rev 21:22 says that there will be no temple, which is a way of saying that there will be no building, the inner sanctuary of which will provide a place for the image of God. Among pagan Gentile nations, they always placed in the inner sanctuary an image of their god. In Jerusalem it was the place where the Shekinah glory manifested itself above the mercy seat and beneath the wings of the cherubim. This glory was seen only by the high priest once a year. But now the sacred sanctuary will be the person of our Lord Jesus. Once the glory was hidden, now it will be public and open to the gaze of all the people of the kingdom, and this will elicit the most profound admiration, adoration, and adulation. Where in all the ages preceding, there was a disunity among men because they were unable to see the unity in that person whom they worshiped, now, at last, there will be a perfect unification of all men. They will be looking at the very God whom they worship.

Second, at the *highest level of experience*, the glory of God in Christ will serve as the center of illumination for the new Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings (Rev 21:23). Even though the sun and the moon and the stars will continue to perform their functions, a new center of light will serve as a lamp for this city. The radiance streaming from the face of our blessed Lord and comprising the glory of God, will give light perpetually. This light will exceed that of the midday sun, or that of the reflected light of the moon, and will cause those luminaries to fade into insignificance. If perchance the laws of physics provide for this light to reach around the earth to every country and region, then all the inhabitants of the eternal state will bask in this supernatural radiance. But even if that were not so, at least all people shall see it, for they will make perpetual pilgrimage to the Holy City (Rev 21:24-26).

Third, at the *highest level of authority*, the throne of God and of the Lamb will be the center of this kingdom (Rev 22:1, 3). From this point on there will be no question as to the place and source of authority. The grace of God in Christ will have brought all the inhabitants of the kingdom to their knees in willing servitude, and they will all serve him in worship in whatever aspect or area of occupation (Rev 22:3). It is not accidental that this throne is described as the throne of the Lamb. That turns the attention of every heart and mind back to Calvary. It was there that the highest and most important event of the eternities took place. It is that aspect of the

glory of God that confirmed the holiness of God and provided propitiation for every citizen in the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

Fourth, at the *highest level of apprehension*, the inhabitants of this kingdom will see his face (Rev 22:4). The word "face" indicates that which confronts the eye. It is that portion of the anatomy that fascinates and transfixes the beholder. It is that aspect of being that is the index to all else in a person. It is that detail of Christ that not only provided progressive transformation during all the years prior to the eternal state (2 Cor 3:18), but it is also that detail that will confirm forever the fixation of divine nature so that his name and all it represents will appear in the foreheads of all his devotees. This qualifies them to rule and reign in whatever capacity he delegates to them (Rev 22:5).

CONCLUSION

The grand sweep in the purpose of God will have then reached its final conclusion. It exceeds the wildest dreams of men. It reaches beyond anything that any saint can ask or think (Eph 3:20). "O the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God. How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out. . . . For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen!" (Rom 11:33, 36). "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev 22:20).

OTHER CONDITIONAL ELEMENTS IN NEW TESTAMENT GREEK¹

JAMES L. BOYER

To conclude the series of studies on conditional sentences, some conditional elements which do not constitute complete conditional sentences or which present some irregularity or peculiarity of form or meaning are considered.

* * *

MIXED CONDITIONS

THERE is nothing inherently surprising or improper that in actual usage the recognized patterns for conditional sentences should sometimes become mixed. There are few of these, perhaps only three or four; each of these is doubtful to some degree.

Luke 17:6 shows the first-class pattern in the protasis, εἰ with the present indicative. The apodosis is usually identified as a second-class pattern, ἄν with a secondary indicative, perhaps indicating that Jesus courteously avoided using the full second-class condition, which would have stated very harshly "If you had faith, which you haven't . . .," then continued with the contrary-to-fact result. Although this is a plausible and possible explanation, the present writer prefers² to consider this a simple first-class condition, stating a logical connection between the protasis and apodosis without any indication of censure or praise. The imperfect indicative with ἄν then is understood as a potential indicative which states the result which might be expected to follow: "If you have faith you can expect impossible things."

John 8:39 is another example in which a first-class protasis, εἰ with indicative, is mixed with a second-class apodosis using a secondary indicative. The early textual tradition is somewhat confused, part

¹See James L. Boyer, "First-Class Conditions: What Do They Mean?" *GTJ* 2 (1981) 74-114, "Second-Class Conditions in New Testament Greek," *GTJ* 3 (1982) 81-88, "Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions," *GTJ* 3 (1982) 163-75.

²See my discussion of this verse in "Second Class Conditions," 86-87.

of it supporting a first-class apodosis. If the imperfect ἐποιεῖτε is accepted, with or without the particle ἄν, it clearly is a second-class apodosis. In this instance the explanations suggested for the previous example will hardly work; a courteous softening of the rebuke can hardly be applicable in the light of the following verses, and the apodosis is not easily understood as a potential indicative. Rather, it seems better to understand that when Jesus said, "If you are Abraham's seed" (first-class), he was not rendering or implying a judgment of their spiritual relationship, but he was letting that judgment proceed from their own conscience when they compared their actions to those of their father.

Acts 8:31 has εἰ with the future indicative in the protasis, which may be taken as a first-class condition since the mood is indicative, or as a third-class since the particle is εἰ and since future indicatives frequently function as subjunctives in NT Greek.³ On the other hand, the apodosis shows an optative verb with ἄν, which on the surface suggests a fourth-class condition. However, on second look the apodosis can also be a rhetorical question involving a potential optative ("How could I, if someone doesn't teach me?"—the obvious answer is "Of course I can't. . ."). Thus it is a proper construction for a first-class condition. In view of the virtual non-existence of fourth-class conditions in NT Greek, the latter option is preferable.

Acts 24:19 is a fourth-class protasis, εἰ with the optative, and possibly a second-class apodosis, a secondary indicative verb. The situation is complicated by the formal court setting (perhaps explaining the rare use of the optative) and the emotionally charged atmosphere (evidenced by the broken construction), as well as by the structure which makes the apodosis a subordinate clause of the sentence. This last factor makes the identification of the apodosis as contrary to fact uncertain; it could be the normal tense structure of the relative clause.

Not to be cited as examples of mixed conditions are Acts 11:17 and 1 Cor 7:28. Acts 11:17 is clearly a first-class condition with an apodosis in the form of a rhetorical question using a potential imperfect indicative. 1 Cor 7:28 (two examples) shows a future or third-class condition. The aorist in the apodosis is not improper, since it expresses the situation at that future time: "You will be in a position at that time of 'not having sinned.'"⁴

³Cf. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934) 924–25; J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. 1: Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906) 149. Another illustration of this ambivalence is the use of the future indicative in ἵνα clauses (15 examples).

⁴Cf. Boyer, "Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions."

Also not to be considered as mixed conditions are those instances of two protases with one apodosis. Whether they are of the same (e.g., 1 Cor 9:11) or of different (e.g., John 13:17) classes, each part retains its own force.

IRREGULARITIES IN THE CONDITIONAL PARTICLES

The almost universal pattern shows εἰ with an indicative verb and ἕάν with a subjunctive verb, but there are rare exceptions. UBS⁽³⁾ shows four examples of εἰ with the subjunctive⁵ and four examples of ἕάν with the indicative.⁶ Several factors may contribute to this situation or help to understand it.

(1) Historical evidence shows a changing idiom in the use of these particles. "The difference between εἰ and ἕάν is considerably lessened in the κοινή, though it must be remembered that ἕάν was never confined to the subj. nor εἰ to the ind. and opt."⁷

(2) In almost every instance there is evidence of textual variations. This is not surprising in the light of the changing patterns of usage during the period of manuscript production.

(3) Many places where this confusion occurs, including two where the UBS text shows ἕάν with the indicative, involve the future tense. Since the future indicative often functions as the equivalent of an aorist subjunctive (see n. 3) and at times is indistinguishable from it even in form, these examples should probably be classed as simple third-class conditions with ἕάν and [the equivalent of] the subjunctive.

(4) In two of the examples of εἰ with the subjunctive the particle is not the simple εἰ (1 Cor 14:5 ἐκτός εἰ μή; 1 Thess 5:10 εἴτε . . . εἴτε) and to have used ἕάν might have been awkward; neither ἐκτός ἕάν nor ἕάντε ever occurs elsewhere in the NT.

(5) The difference between the classes is determined, as Robertson has pointed out, "by the *mode*, not by εἰ or ἕάν."⁸

⁵1 Cor 14:5, Phil 3:12, 1 Thess 5:10, Rev 11:5. In addition there are at least two other passages (Luke 11:18, 1 Cor 9:11) where textual variants show the subjunctive after εἰ. Luke 9:13 probably is not an example, since the subjunctive seems to reflect a deliberative question in the compressed structure. There are examples where the form could be either indicative or subjunctive; in these the use of εἰ would presume the indicative identification.

⁶Luke 19:40, Acts 8:31, 1 Thess 3:8, 1 John 5:15. In addition there are another eight passages where textual variants show the indicative after ἕάν (Matt 18:19, Mark 11:13, Luke 6:34, Rom 14:8, 1 Cor 4:15, Gal 1:8, Rev 2:5, 22). In those instances where the form is ambiguous, the use of ἕάν would presume the subjunctive identification.

⁷Robertson, *Grammar*, 1009–10; cf. also N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. 3: Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963) 107, 113, 115–16.

⁸*Ibid.*, 1007.

ELLIPTICAL CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

Protasis Unexpressed

Strictly speaking there are no "missing protases," since without a protasis a sentence simply is not a conditional sentence. Sentences in which a participle or an imperative or other structure functions semantically as a conditional element is discussed below under "Implied Protases." The special case of implied protases of fourth-class conditions is also discussed there.

Apodosis Unexpressed

There is nothing irregular or unusual in those many instances where the connective verb (εἰμί, γίνομαι) is not expressed. In conditional sentences this occurs about 33 times in the protasis and about 48 times in the apodosis, including about 12 examples where it is missing in both. Neither does this section of our study include the approximately 22 instances where the verb to be supplied is the same verb already occurring or implied in the context (e.g., 1 Cor 9:17, "For if I do this willingly I have a reward; if [I do it] unwillingly, I have been entrusted with a stewardship"). Such abbreviated expressions are common in all types of sentences.

However, there are about 12 instances in which the entire apodosis is omitted, or in which there is a protasis without an apodosis. Whether for deliberate dramatic effect or by an in-course change of sentence structure, the original construction is left uncompleted. Examples are: Luke 13:9, "and if it bears fruit ["that will be well; we've accomplished our purpose; let it grow"], but if not . . ."; Luke 19:42, "If only you had known . . . [things might have been different]"; Acts 23:9, "We find nothing evil in this man; but if a spirit has spoken to him, or an angel, [we had better not take any chances!]"; and Rom 2:17-21, "If you call yourself a Jew . . . having the form of knowledge and truth in the law, you who teach another, don't you teach yourself?"

In others, the unexpressed apodosis can be supplied by the context. In John 6:61, 62 Jesus says, "Does this offend you? [Would you not be offended even more] if you should see . . . ?" In Eph 4:29, Paul admonishes, "Let no evil word go forth out of your mouth; but if there is any good word [let it be spoken], in order that. . . ." In 2 Thess 2:3 Paul warns, "Let no one deceive you in any way; because [that situation (namely, that the Day of the Lord be present) cannot be true] if the apostasy does not come first. . . ."

Another type of ellipsis is found in a group of passages where the Hebrew idiom used an abbreviated form of the oath formula which

only suggested the penalty involved. Thayer says, "Contrary to Greek usage, in imitation of the Hebrew וְאִי , $\epsilon\iota$ with the Indic. is so used in oaths and asseverations that by aposiopesis the formula of imprecation [constituting the apodosis] is suppressed."⁹ The NT passages involved are Mark 8:12, Heb 3:11, 4:4, 5 and possibly Heb 6:14.¹⁰ The unabbreviated form of the oath would be something like "may the Lord do . . . [something terrible] . . . , if . . . ," or "may I no longer be Jehovah, if. . . ." Thus, the conditional clause becomes a strong, oath-supported assertion or denial.

In some instances the conditional clause fits into a subordinate clause of a sentence in such a way that the full apodosis cannot be expressed (except perhaps by a parenthesis), but is implied in another part of the sentence. Two examples of a protasis without an explicit apodosis show the $\epsilon\iota \mu\eta$ clause functioning as a dissimilar element in a series, as a paraphrastic descriptive identification of an additional item in the series. Thus they are practically the equivalent of a relative clause. The conditional element is there, but it identifies some hypothetical example of the class. In 1 Tim 1:10 Paul lists a long series of things for which the law is intended, and concludes the list, "and if there is anything else contrary to sound teaching [it is for them too]," or practically, "anything else which is contrary. . . ." Similarly in Rev 14:11 those who have no rest day and night are identified as "those who worship the beast . . . and anyone who (literally, 'and if anyone') receives the mark. . . ."

Two more examples express what seems to be an assumed situation. Perhaps a free paraphrase will help to bring out the sense of 2 Cor 5:2-3: "In the body we groan, looking forward to the heavenly dwelling with which we shall be clothed, if indeed, as I assume to be the case, when we put off this dwelling we shall be found not to be naked." Similarly in Eph 3:2, as Paul starts speaking of the mystery revealed to him, he assumes that his readers have already heard about it. In both these instances he uses the particle $\gamma\epsilon$ with $\epsilon\iota$, expressing confidence that the assumed situation is true. Note that this certainty is conveyed by the particle $\gamma\epsilon$ and by the context, not by his use of the first-class form of condition.

⁹J. H. Thayer, *A Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American, 1899) 170.

¹⁰Three of these, Heb 3:11, 4:4, 5, are a direct quote from Ps 95:11 (Ps 94 LXX). Other OT examples of the abbreviated form are Gen 14:23, Num 14:30, 1 Sam 3:17, Jer 29:22.

Mark 8:12 is precisely the same idiom, but does not involve an OT quotation. Heb 6:14 involves a textual variant in both the NT quote and in the source passage in the LXX, Gen 22:17. If the reading adopted by the UBS⁽³⁾ text is used, it is simply another example of this idiom. If the alternate reading is followed, the $\eta \mu\eta\nu$ is a particle of confirmation or assertion common in Greek from earliest times.

Ei μή = 'except'

A special class of elliptical conditional clauses which occurs frequently and needs particular consideration involves the use of *ei μή* in the sense of 'except.' It was common also in classical Greek and probably arose as an unconscious abbreviation of the conditional clause because its verb was the same as the main verb.¹¹ It belongs to the first class or simple conditions. Its stereotyped form, in which *ei μή* becomes almost one word, accounts for the use of *μή* as the negative particle, thus preserving the classical pattern where all protases used *μή* as the negative, even though in Hellenistic Greek *οὐ* has become the negative for first-class conditions. The idiom expresses "... not a condition of fulfillment of which the apodosis is true or its action takes place, but a limitation of the principal statement."¹²

The idiom shows three characteristic features. First, there is an ellipsis of the verb in the protasis which is supplied from the principal clause, often the same verb. Second, there is a negative comparison between the two clauses. And third, the protasis always¹³ follows the apodosis.

The idiom appears in three forms or patterns, differing in the way the negative comparison is expressed.

Οὐδεὶς . . . εἰ μή . . . The most characteristic form of the idiom, about 31 instances,¹⁴ uses the negative pronominal adjective *οὐδεὶς* or *μηδεὶς* (in the case appropriate to its function) in the apodosis, followed by a protasis introduced by *εἰ μή*, and names the exception (also in its appropriate grammatical form) with no verb stated. An illustration is Matt 17:8, . . . *οὐδένα εἶδον εἰ μή αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον*, "they saw no one except Jesus himself alone"; or in unabbreviated form, "they saw no one if [they did] not [see] Jesus." Both *οὐδένα* and *Ἰησοῦν* are objects of the verb *εἶδον* (expressed in

¹¹E. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek* (Chicago: Chicago University, 1897) 111.

¹²*Ibid.*, 111.

¹³There are a couple of apparent exceptions, but fuller consideration shows that they are not the same semantically. Several are negative second-class conditions (Matt 24:22, Mark 13:20, John 9:33, 15:22, 24, 18:30, Rom 9:29) and thus not true examples of *ei μή* = 'except' (see below). Several are cases of *εἰ δὲ μή*, where the negative contrast has already been mentioned in the preceding context; the apodosis is actually missing. One (1 Cor 7:17) may be an instance where *ei μή* functions as an adversative conjunction (see below). The only instance which might be a valid exception is Mark 8:14, but even here the lack of bread had been mentioned in the preceding clause.

¹⁴Matt 5:13, 11:27 (first occurrence), 17:8, 21:19, 24:36, Mark 5:37, 6:5, 9:9, 29, 10:18, 11:13, 13:32, Luke 4:26, 27, 10:22 (bis), 18:19, John 3:13, 14:6, 17:12, Acts 11:19, Rom 13:8, 14:14, 1 Cor 1:14, 2:11 (second occurrence), 8:4, 12:3, Phil 4:15, Rev 2:17, 14:3, 19:12.

the apodosis, omitted in the protasis) and are in the accusative case. The parallelism may be in sense rather than in form, as in Matt 5:13: "salt that has lost its saltiness . . . εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι . . . it is sufficient (fit for) nothing except [it is fit] to be trampled. . . ." Εἰς οὐδὲν is parallel with the infinitive καταπατεῖσθαι. The dissimilarity in form sometimes makes it appear that there is no ellipsis of the verb. In Mark 6:5 (οὐκ ἔδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις ἁρρώστοις ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἑθεράπευσεν), ἑθεράπευσεν is not the verb of a clause introduced by εἰ μὴ; rather it is a clausal parallel to οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν. The sense is "he was not able there to perform a single miracle except [the miracles in which] he healed a few."

Οὐ (or οὐδέ) . . . εἰ μὴ . . . This pattern closely resembles the first and is almost as frequent, about 30 instances.¹⁵ The specific οὐδεὶς is represented by a simple negative particle;¹⁶ the rest of the construction is the same. This pattern permits even more flexibility of expression. For example, in Mark 6:4 Jesus says, "a prophet is not without honor [anywhere] if [he is] not [without honor] in his own country."

Τίς . . . εἰ μὴ . . . A third variation of this pattern, about 10 examples,¹⁷ uses interrogative τίς to introduce the apodosis as a rhetorical question, the obvious answer to which is "no one." Thus the expression is fully equivalent to the others. For illustration, in Mark 2:7 the scribes ask, "Who is able to forgive sins except [literally, 'if not'] one, namely God?" Again dissimilarity in structural form of the items compared may seem to obscure the ellipsis of the verb. In 2 Cor 12:13 the parallel to τίς in the apodosis is the ὅτι . . . κατενάρκησα clause in the protasis: "In what respect were you treated worse than other churches, except [you were treated worse in respect] that (ὅτι) I did not burden you?" So also Eph 4:9 in expanded form becomes, "What is the meaning of the expression 'he ascended' except [its meaning is] that he descended. . . .?"

Εἰ μὴ = 'instead, only'

Included in the preceding category are a few examples which are not strictly exceptive. The εἰ μὴ protasis does not name the only

¹⁵Matt 11:27 (second occurrence), 12:4, 24, 39, 13:57, 14:17, 15:24, 16:4, Mark 2:26, 6:4, 8, 8:14, Luke 6:4, 8:51, 11:29, 17:18, John 6:22, 46, 10:10, 13:10, 19:15, Rom 13:1, 1 Cor 2:2, 10:13, 2 Cor 12:5, Gal 1:19, 6:14, Rev 9:4, 13:17, 21:27.

¹⁶Usually οὐ or its strengthened form οὐδέ. Where the grammatical structure of the apodosis calls for a subjunctive verb, the negative may be μὴ or μὴδέ.

¹⁷Mark 2:7, Luke 5:21, Rom 11:15, 1 Cor 2:11 (first occurrence), 2 Cor 2:2, 12:13, Eph 4:9, Heb 3:18, 1 John 2:22, 5:5.

exception to the negation of the apodosis, but rather it names the only alternative to the apodosis. For example, in Rev 9:4 εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους does not name the exceptions among τὸν χόρτον κ.τ.λ. who were not hurt, but rather states another class who, in contrast, were to be hurt. Rev 21:27 tells who will not enter the holy city, then after εἰ μὴ it describes a different group who will enter. So also probably Matt 12:4, unless we make the unlikely assumption that the priests mentioned were those who were present in David's company. There is no difference in the idiom used, and the difference in sense is so obvious¹⁸ that it is almost unnoticed.

Εἰ μὴ = adversative conjunction 'but'

It is readily admitted that εἰ μὴ may often be translated 'but' or 'but only' in English, particularly in those instances belonging to the last-mentioned category.¹⁹ However, there is another group of examples in which there seems to be no ellipsis of the verb and εἰ μὴ introduces a clause with its own verb, where the sense seems to call for an adversative conjunction, 'but.' Grammarians have debated whether εἰ μὴ is ever the equivalent of ἀλλά;²⁰ their claim is evaluated in the following examples.

Rom 14:14: οἶδα . . . ὅτι οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ τι κοινὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ κοινόν. "I know . . . that nothing is unclean by itself; but to the one who considers anything to be unclean, to that one it is unclean." This manner of punctuating the verse makes good sense using the εἰ μὴ as an adversative conjunction introducing another clause, but it ignores the obvious similarity to the simple exceptive formulas (οὐδὲν . . . εἰ μὴ) which is common elsewhere. If we follow the lead of the idiom, the sense becomes, "I know that nothing is unclean except to the one who thinks it is. To him it is unclean." The sense is good, and any tautology involved in the last clause is not uncommon.

1 Cor 7:17: Εἰ μὴ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ κύριος, ἕκαστον ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ θεός, οὕτως περιπατεῖτω. "But let each one walk in such manner as the Lord has apportioned to each, as God has called

¹⁸Gal 1:19 is a passage where the difference is of considerable importance, but the issue must be settled on other considerations than the meaning of εἰ μὴ.

¹⁹For example, the *NASB* in all but three of this last group, translates by 'but.' Even in the first group 'but' is sometimes used, e.g., Matt 24:36.

²⁰Cf. G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870) 566; A. T. Robertson, *Grammar*, 1187; J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, 291. In the lexicon, W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University Press, 1957) 219 (section VI:8b) this meaning is listed with one passage (Gal 1:7) cited as an example, but with a cross-reference to a contrary explanation of that passage.

each." The *εἰ μή* stands at the beginning of a sentence and at the beginning of a paragraph. The adversative conjunction makes tolerable sense, and there is no apodosis with a negative comparison. The meaning 'except' seems totally out of the question. Conceivably we might take it as a case of extreme ellipsis of a negative first-class condition: "If (this does not happen [cf. v 16]) then let each walk. . . ."

Gal 1:6-7: εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο· εἰ μή τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς . . . "another gospel, which is not another; but there are some who are troubling you. . . ." Again the meaning 'except' is difficult and the adversative 'but' makes good sense. However, it is again possible to see here another case of extreme ellipsis of a negative first-class condition: ". . . not another [and I would not speak of it as such] if (it were not for the fact that) some are troubling you. . . ."

If such explanations seem extreme, they must be weighed against the fact that the adversative 'but' is otherwise unsupported for *εἰ μή*. Perhaps the stereotyped formula has evolved from 'except,' to 'but only,' then to 'but' as a full-fledged conjunction governing its own verb, but in the NT there are only these rare examples to support it.²¹

Εἰ μή = negative second-class conditions

Not all occurrences of *εἰ μή* are exceptive; they may also be simply 'if not,' negative second-class condition.²² Of the 13 instances of *εἰ μή* which could be negative second-class protases²³ only one, Rom 7:7 (first occurrence), shows the three characteristic features of the *εἰ μή* = 'except' idiom, and the sense is agreeable: "I would not have known sin except [I had known it] through law." Even here the negative sense 'if not' is appropriate. All the other instances are not elliptical and are not involved in this study.

Ἐὰν μή = 'except'(?)

The vast majority, if not all, of the occurrences of *ἔαν μή* are simply negative protases in third-class conditions and hence are not a part of this study. *Μή* is the normal negative, both from the historical pattern which used *μή* as the negative in all protases, and from the appropriateness of its contingent character to the subjunctive mood.

²¹For a similar problem with *ἔαν μή* see below.

²²Negative first-class conditions in NT Greek use the negative particle *οὐ* except in the stereotyped formula *εἰ μή* under consideration. For negative third-class conditions, see below. There are not negative fourth-class protases.

²³Matt 24:22, Mark 13:20, John 9:33, 15:22, 24, 18:30, 19:11, Acts 26:32, Rom 7:7 (bis), 9:29.

The question here raised is whether *ἐὰν μή* is ever used in a third-class version of the idiom *εἰ μή* = 'except.' The question is not whether *ἐὰν μή* can be translated 'except.' It can, and is frequently translated this way in English version, for in English 'except' can mean simply 'if not.' But, does *ἐὰν μή* ever occur in the exceptive sense of *εἰ μή*?

One of the characteristics of the exceptive idiom was seen to be the ellipsis of the verb in the protasis. This almost never happens with *ἐὰν μή*. One apparent exception is John 5:19 where οὐδὲν *ἐὰν μή* τι looks much like "nothing except something . . .," but that would require a relative in place of, or in addition to, τι. It should rather be read, "the Son cannot do anything himself if he does not see the Father doing something," with no ellipsis of the verb.

Mark 4:22 expresses either the intended purpose or the necessary outcome of hiding something. The form is in part like the *εἰ μή* construction, but the sense is not. Perhaps it is a case where *ἐὰν μή*, like *εἰ μή*, can be considered an adversative conjunction (note the parallel *ἀλλ'* in the next clause) but that gives a different sense. It seems easier to consider it a simple negative second-class condition: "There is no such thing as a hidden thing if it is not destined to be revealed."

Mark 10:30 is another strange example of *ἐὰν μή*. It is the opposite of 'except,' and states that it is always true without exception: "There is no one who forsakes . . ., if he does not also receive. . . ."

A theologically important passage involving *ἐὰν μή* is Gal 2:16: . . . οὐ δικαιούται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου *ἐὰν μή* διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. It follows the exceptive pattern completely, yet it clearly is not the exceptive sense: "the only one who is justified by works is the one who is justified by faith." Rather it is the alternative sense: "no one is justified by works, but [the only one justified at all is justified] only by faith."

Εἰ δὲ μή, εἰ δὲ μήγε

The idiom *εἰ δὲ μή* occurs 6 times²⁴ and the strengthened form *εἰ δὲ μήγε* 8 times.²⁵ In each case it is a compressed negative conditional clause; the verb of the protasis is left unexpressed but may be supplied from the preceding context. It is used to express an opposite alternative to the one in the preceding clause: "If you don't do that . . ." or "If that is not the case. . . ." 'Otherwise' is a good English rendering.

²⁴Mark 2:21, 22; John 14:2, 11; Rev 2:5, 16.

²⁵Matt 6:1, 9:17; Luke 5:36, 37; 10:6; 13:9, 14:32, 2 Cor 11:16. The editions vary between *μή γε* (e.g., UBS⁽³⁾) and *μήγε* (e.g., UBS⁽²⁾).

It may seem strange, but the idiom is unchanged whether the preceding alternative is stated positively (8 times in the NT) or negatively (6 times). As an example of the positive, Rev 2:5 has "Remember . . . and repent . . . εἰ δὲ μή . . . but if [you do not do so] I will come. . . ." An example of the negative alternative preceding is Matt 9:17: "They do not put new wine in old bottles . . . , εἰ δὲ μήγε . . . , but if [they do not follow that course (of not putting)], the bottles are bursted," where we would have said, "But if they do. . . ." The translation 'otherwise' will fit either situation.

Εἰ μήτι

This occurs 3 times in the NT.²⁶ Its sense seems to be 'unless indeed' or 'unless perhaps.' Μήτι by itself occurs 14 times and is a negative interrogative particle used with questions expecting a negative or doubtful answer. In Luke 9:13 the interrogative idea gives good sense to the εἰ μήτι construction and explains the use of a subjunctive verb. Taking it as a doubtfully stated deliberative question, the meaning is "We have no more than five loaves and two fishes, unless [εἰ μήτι]—shall we go and buy. . . ?" The interrogative idea is not so easily applied to the other two examples except in the sense that there is an affinity between "doubtful" and "questionable."

Ἐκτὸς εἰ μή

Ἐκτὸς occurs once as a simple adverb, 4 times as an improper preposition governing the genitive case, and 3 times²⁷ it is combined with εἰ μή, apparently as a post-classical strengthening of the εἰ μή = 'except' idiom. Its root meaning fits this sense well; 'outside of,' or 'beside' suggests an alternative or an exception.

INDEFINITE RELATIVE AND TEMPORAL CLAUSES

This term is applied to those clauses which are expressed in English by adding '-ever' to the relative word: 'whoever,' 'whatever,' 'whenever,' 'wherever.' The Greek idiom uses with the relative word the indefinite particle ὅς or ὅταν²⁸ and the subjunctive mood of the verb. They are common in the Greek NT—about 320 examples.

²⁶Luke 9:13; 1 Cor 7:5; 2 Cor 13:5. In 1 Cor 7:5 it is augmented by adding the particle ἄν.

²⁷1 Cor 14:5 with subjunctive verb following; 15:2 with indicative verb following; 1 Tim 5:19 with verb to be supplied.

²⁸The indefinite particle ὅς is by far most frequent, about 238 times. Ἐάν, which is a combination of the conditional εἰ with ὅς, is used about 63 times. There are about 19 instances where the subjunctive verb is used in such clauses without either of these particles. In Hellenistic Greek ὅς and ὅταν, even ἤν, where sometimes interchanged, so that either form could function for either the conditional or the indefinite sense. See n. 7 above.

The propriety of including these constructions under a discussion of "other conditional elements" is suggested in two ways. First, there is the fact that they use the same basic formula as third-class conditional protases (ἐάν or ἄν with the subjunctive) which suggests a relationship between indefiniteness and supposition or condition. Second, there is the almost unanimous judgment of grammarians²⁹ that such is the situation. There is not much difference in actual sense between ὅς ἄν, 'whoever,' and ἐάν τις, 'if anyone.' But this word of caution from A. T. Robertson is needed to avoid over-zealous application: "But after all, it is not a conditional sentence any more than the so-called causal, final consecutive relative clauses are really so. It is only by the context that one inferentially gets any of these ideas out of the relative."³⁰

IMPLIED CONDITIONS

This category should not be confused with that discussed above under "elliptical conditions." By "elliptical" we refer to conditional sentences which have some part unexpressed but the conditional form of the sentence remains intact. By "implied conditions" we refer to sentences or elements which are not in form or fact conditional, but which are judged from context to imply a conditional sense.

These are hard to deal with specifically. One cannot go through and count, for example, all the conditional participles in the NT; one must first study every participle in the NT, then decide which are adverbial, that is, are modifying the verb of the sentence in some way, then decide in what way it is affecting the verb (conditional is only one of many possibilities, and the decision is purely an interpretive one). Only then can one study conditional participles. The same is true of the other types to be mentioned in this section. Our present purpose will be served by illustrating from examples.

²⁹ All the grammars examined which dealt with this construction agreed that it was conditional. Following Goodwin's complex system of classifying conditional sentences based on time and particularity, many classical grammarians develop in detail this same scheme in analyzing the "conditional relative clauses." Many NT grammarians who do not follow that system still identify these indefinite relative clauses as forms of the third-class future condition. See W. W. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar* (Boston: Ginn, 1930) 303-6; H. W. Smyth, *A Greek Grammar* (New York: American, 1916) 361; Robertson, *Grammar*, 961, 956; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. and rev. by R. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961) 191-2; Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, 119; W. LaSor says, "A relative clause may be used to indicate contingency by the use of one of the conditional participles [*sic* particles] in conjunction with the relative pronoun. Such a relative clause is actually a type of conditional clause" (*A Handbook of New Testament Greek* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973], 2. 200).

³⁰ Robertson, *Grammar*, 961-2.

Conditional Participles

That participles do sometimes bear a conditional relationship to the governing verb is undoubted. In Matt 16:26 the conditional clause ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ is paralleled in Luke 9:25 by the participial phrase κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον. Heb 2:3 literally says, "How shall we escape, having neglected. . . ." The participle ἀμελήσαντες could possibly mean "since we have neglected," but that does not fit the sense as well as "if we neglect." It is not necessary to multiply examples, but compare also Acts 15:29 (διατηροῦντες), 1 Cor 11:29 (διακρίνων), Gal 6:9 (ἐκλυόμενοι), 1 Tim 4:4 (λαμβανόμενον).

Conditional Imperatives

This is more rare and less obvious, but a few cases seem clear. In John 2:19 Jesus said to the unbelieving Jews who were challenging him, Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγείρεις αὐτόν; "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it." He was not commanding or requesting that they kill him, or even that they tear down the building. Rather, he was challenging them: "You do that and I'll do this!" or "If you . . . , I will. . . ." So in Eph 4:26 it is difficult to understand "Be angry and sin not" as a command or even a permission, especially in light of the context (see v 31). It is much easier to take it as a condition, "If you are angry, do not sin." Perhaps also this may apply to passages like Matt 7:7, Mark 1:17, 11:24, James 4:7, although the ordinary imperative sense makes good sense. Even less likely is its use in Matt 19:21, Luke 7:7, John 14:16.

Conditional Questions

A couple of passages have been used to show that an independent interrogative sentence may function as the protasis of an implied condition. 1 Cor 7:21: "Were you called as a slave? Let it not be a concern to you" is understood to say, "If you were . . . let it not. . . ." James 5:13: "Is there anyone sick among you? Let him pray" becomes "If anyone is sick. . . ." Such an expression is possible and permissible; whether it was actually so intended by the author is a matter of interpretive judgment or stylistic preference on the part of the reader, not a matter of grammar.

Other grammatical structures may also be treated in this manner. In Mark 4:9 for example, the relative clause "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" may be called an implied conditional clause, since it may be understood as equivalent to "If anyone has ears . . ." particularly in the light of the parallel in v 23. Here also may be placed the so-called "conditional participle" in Heb 6:6. Since

παραπεσόντας is one of a series of 5 participles governed by the article τοῦς, it is adjectival and not circumstantial. Therefore, it is not an example of what is usually called a conditional participle.³¹ As adjectival all 5 are most readily translated by a relative clause which itself may be conditional in character if the context suggests it: "It is impossible to renew to repentance those who do these five things." The statement seems to be speaking of a hypothetical situation rather than an actual instance. The sharp contrast with the four preceding descriptions (which are all favorable) with the last (which is drastically unfavorable), serves to heighten the hypothetical nature of the whole.

Implied Protases of Fourth-Class Conditions

A few of the optative verbs in the NT are called by some grammarians "potential optatives," and as such are sometimes described as apodoses of fourth-class conditional sentences with implied protases. Chamberlain lists 5 of these constructions: "These are the potential optative, practically the apodosis of an unexpressed protasis."³² Such terminology comes from grammarians of classical Greek, such as Goodwin,³³ who says, "The optative with ἄν expresses a future action as dependent on circumstances or conditions," and

This optative is usually called *potential*, and corresponds generally to the English potential forms with *may, can, might, could, would*, etc. . . . The limiting condition is generally too indefinite to be distinctly present to the mind, and can be expressed only by words like *perhaps, possibly, or probably*, or by such vague forms as "*if he pleased, if he should try, if he could, if there should be an opportunity*," etc.

In view of this admission that the implied condition is "generally too indefinite to be distinctly present to the mind" of the speaker, it seems better to recognize that the potential optative is a construction which stands alone without an implied protasis. All the NT examples are questions, either direct or indirect, except one.³⁴ In none of them is there a clearly implied protasis.

CONCESSIVE SENTENCES

A special category of conditional sentences is marked by an adverbial use of καί in association with the conditional conjunction,

³¹J. A. Sproule, "παραπεσόντας in Hebrews 6:6," *GTJ* 2 (1981) 327-32.

³²W. D. Chamberlain, *An Exegetical Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1941) 85.

³³Goodwin, *Grammar*, 281.

³⁴Acts 26:29. See Robertson, *Grammar*, 938, where he speaks of the construction as a "softened assertion."

εἰ or ἔάν. These are called concessive. They are in no way distinguished in form from other conditional sentences and are best thought of as a variety of them rather than as a separate classification.³⁵ They have been included, though not called attention to, in the previous treatment of conditional sentences.

When the καὶ precedes the conditional conjunction (καὶ εἰ or καὶ ἔάν) the sense is climactic, 'even if.' "The supposition is considered improbable . . . the truth of the principal sentence is stoutly affirmed in the face of this one exception. It is rhetorically an extreme case."³⁶ The idea is ". . . improbable in itself, or especially unfavorable to the fulfillment of the apodosis."³⁷ An example is Gal 1:8, "But even if (καὶ ἔάν) we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than what we preached, let him be anathema."³⁸

When καὶ follows the conditional conjunction (εἰ καὶ or ἔάν καὶ) the sense is 'if also,' 'although,' 'even though.' "Here the protasis is treated as a matter of indifference . . . sometimes a note of contempt is in εἰ καὶ."³⁹ The protasis is ". . . conceived of as actually fulfilled or likely to be fulfilled,"⁴⁰ ". . . fulfilled in spite of the fulfillment of the protasis."⁴¹ An example is Col 2:5: "For although (εἰ καὶ) I am absent in flesh, yet I am with you in spirit." This type is more common in the NT than the other.⁴²

Conditional sentences may be concessive even without the καὶ. For example, Matt 26:33 uses simply εἰ, where the parallel passage in Mark 14:29 has εἰ καὶ. Also in Mark 14:31, ἔάν is used where the parallel Matt 26:35 has καὶν [= καὶ ἔάν]. Other passages where the sense seems to be concessive without καὶ are Rom 3:3, 9:27, 1 Cor 4:15, 9:2.

On the other hand, καὶ in conjunction with εἰ or ἔάν most frequently⁴³ does not involve the concessive idea at all. It may simply be a connective conjunction, 'and if,' as in the series of conditional sentences in 1 Cor 13:1-3: 'Ἐάν . . . καὶ ἔάν . . . καὶ ἔάν . . . καὶν

³⁵Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, 112, attempts to make a strong differentiation between the two, but then admits that sometimes "to make distinction between them is difficult."

³⁶Robertson, *Grammar*, 1026.

³⁷Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, 113.

³⁸The passages so identified in this study are (1) first-class with καὶ εἰ (2 occurrences): 1 Cor 8:5, 1 Pet 3:1; (2) third-class, with καὶ ἔάν or καὶν (6 occurrences): Matt 26:35, Mark 16:18, John 8:14, 10:38, 11:25, Gal 1:8.

³⁹Robertson, *Grammar*, 1026.

⁴⁰Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, 113.

⁴¹Ibid., 112.

⁴²The passages so identified are (1) first-class with εἰ καὶ (16 occurrences): Mark 14:29, Luke 11:8, 18:4, 1 Cor 7:21, 2 Cor 4:3, 16, 5:16, 7:8 (three times), 12, 11:6, 12:11, Phil 2:17, Col 2:5, Heb 6:9; (2) third-class with ἔάν καὶ (3 occurrences): 1 Cor 7:11, 28, Gal 6:1.

⁴³66 times, as compared with 29 where καὶ is concessive.

[= καὶ ἔάν]. Or the καί may go with some specific word or part of the sentence, not with the protasis as a whole, as in 2 Cor 11:15 where καί goes with οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ and means 'also.'

Concessive conditions are usually of the first class (21 times), also frequently of the third class (14 times). Καὶ εἰ appears three times with second-class conditions, only one of which could be concessive.⁴⁴ The one possible example of a fourth-class condition, 1 Pet 3:14, has εἰ καί and is concessive in sense.

⁴⁴Heb 11:15. In the other two (Matt 24:22 and its parallel in Mark 13:20) the καί must be taken as a simple continuative conjunction; the concessive 'even if' cannot be the sense of the statement.

MARTIN LUTHER'S CHRISTOLOGICAL HERMENEUTICS*

DAVID S. DOCKERY

The Sixteenth Century saw Martin Luther initiate a hermeneutical revolution which changed the course of human history. The Protestant Reformation would have been impossible apart from this change in hermeneutical theory. Since that day, Luther has been viewed by evangelicals and existentialists alike as their spiritual father. This article seeks to examine the claims of each group, as well to evaluate the hermeneutical principle on its own merits. The author also states the significance of Luther's christological principle for present day evangelical hermeneutics.

* * *

MARTIN Luther is one of the greatest men that Germany has ever produced, as well as one of the most important figures in human history. In his religious experience and theological standpoint, he strongly resembles the Apostle Paul. It was said by Melanchthon, the one who knew him best, that he was the Elijah of Protestantism and he compared him closely to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Luther roused the Church from her slumber, broke the yoke of papal tyranny, rediscovered Christian freedom, reopened the fountain of God's Holy Word to all the people, and was responsible for directing many to Christ as their Lord. When one thinks of the Reformation, he or she quickly reflects upon the titanic force of Luther; the sovereign good sense of Zwingli; and the remorseless logic of Calvin—and of these three, the greatest was Martin Luther.¹

In the 16th century, Luther initiated and fostered a hermeneutical revolution which changed the course of history. The Protestant Reformation would have been impossible apart from this change in hermeneutics which was employed to interpret both the OT and the NT.² In

*This article is written in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Luther's birthday.

¹F. W. Farrar, *History of Interpretation* (London: Macmillan, 1886) 323.

²R. F. Surburg, "The Presuppositions of the Historical-Grammatical Method as Employed by Historic Lutheranism," *The Springfielder* 38 (March 1975) 279.

a very real sense, Luther is the father of Protestant interpretation³ and his influence is profound.

The burning desire in the heart of Luther to get the Word of God into the hands of the people was so great that he not only translated the Bible into the language of the people, but laid down certain principles concerning its interpretation.

LUTHER'S HERMENEUTICAL PRINCIPLES

The Principles of 1521

The first of these early principles was the supreme and final authority of Scripture itself, apart from all ecclesiastical authority or interference. He recognized that to present the Church as the way to Christ instead of presenting Christ as the way to the Church is the fountain of innumerable errors.

Second, he asserted not only the supreme authority of God's Word, but its sufficiency. Realizing that there was no unanimity among the Church Fathers except in the most basic doctrines, Luther preferred the Scriptures in contrast to the early writings of the Fathers.

Luther was in agreement with all of the other Reformers on his third principle. This was to set aside the dreary fiction of the fourfold exegesis of the medieval period.⁴ He maintained that the historical/literal sense alone is the essence of faith and Christian theology. Luther observed that heresies and errors originated not from the simple words of Scripture but primarily from the neglect of those words.

His fourth principle logically followed his third. This principle was the total denial of allegory as a valid interpretational principle. He asserted that allegory must be avoided so that the interpreter does not wander in idle dreams.⁵

Fifth, Luther maintained the perspicuity of Scripture. This was his fundamental principle of exegesis. He revolted against anything which would distort the biblical picture of Christ.⁶

Finally, Luther insisted with all his force, and almost for the first time in centuries, upon the absolutely indefensible right of private

³A. Skevington Wood, "Luther as an Interpreter of Scripture," *Christianity Today* 3 (Nov 24, 1958) 7.

⁴This fourfold system was the major hermeneutical method of medieval exegesis. Its four steps were literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.

⁵As much as Luther disliked allegories, even going as far as to refer to them as harlots and the dirt of the earth, he was not always true to his rules, nor was he always consistent.

⁶I. D. K. Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ* (New Haven: Yale University, 1970) 225.

interpretation in accordance with the doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, a doctrine lying at the base of Protestantism.⁷

The Principles of 1528

In accordance with the principles listed above, Luther provided his readers in several of his writings with what he believed to be the true rules for the interpretation of Scripture. Farrar summarizes these principles as follows:

He insisted (1) on the necessity for grammatical knowledge; (2) on the importance of taking into consideration times, circumstances, and conditions; (3) on the observance of the context; (4) on the need of faith and spiritual illumination; (5) on keeping what he called "the proportion of faith"; and (6) on the reference of all Scripture to Christ.⁸

Of the first of these, nothing needs to be said except that principles four and five often led Luther into serious hermeneutical problems. The last of these principles, the references of all Scripture to Christ (often referred to as the "christological principle"), is the subject of this article. To Luther, the function of all interpretation was to find Christ. The best way to understand what Luther meant by this principle is to evaluate his use of this principle in his exegesis. In this essay, both the strengths and the weaknesses of this principle are considered. It is claimed by some that this principle led Luther to an existential hermeneutic and a limited view of inspiration. This claim will be examined. Finally, the principle will be viewed in its relation to the grammatical-historical method of interpretation as held by evangelicals of the present day.⁹

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE IN HISTORY

Luther's interpretation of Scripture finds the christological principle at the center. It is primarily christological because Luther regarded Christ as the heart of the Bible. For Luther, there was nothing to find in Scripture outside of Christ. Scripture must be interpreted to mean only that humanity is nothing and Christ is all.¹⁰

⁷Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 325–30.

⁸*Ibid.*, 232. Also see R. F. Surburg, "The Significance of Luther's Hermeneutics for the Protestant Reformation," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 24 (April 1953) 241–61. For a combination of these two lists, see B. L. Ramm, *Protestant Biblical Interpretation* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970) 53–57.

⁹See the twenty-five articles of hermeneutical principles which were articulated at the International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy Summit II on Hermeneutics in Chicago, November, 1982, especially Article XV.

¹⁰Wood, "Luther as an Interpreter of Scripture," 9.

Even before Luther's dramatic conversion as a professor at Wittenberg, his interpretations began in a radically christological fashion. He believed that Christ was the literal content and meaning of the Psalms. Not only was this his early method of interpretation, but he believed that from this point, one should move to a personal application of the christological content in one's own life.¹¹ This method is quite similar to the moral principle of medieval exegesis. He gradually broke away from this principle, but it is possible that the foundation of his christological principle had its beginning in the earlier years of his career.¹²

Luther insisted that the correct use of Scripture is at once the plain sense and the sense which expounds Christ. He believed that there are not two senses of interpretation, but only one. This meant that he saw no difference between the christological principle and the grammatical-historical principle. The christological principle, according to Luther, was plainly stated by Scripture itself and is not an extra-biblical norm of interpretation.¹³

Theoretically, everything proclaimed in the OT looks forward to its fulfillment in Christ. Along with this, everything in the NT looks back to the Old. Everything is connected with Christ and points to him. Siggins explains Luther's view saying, "the New Testament is not more than a revelation of the Old, while the Old Testament is a letter of Christ."¹⁴ The entirety of Scripture, if viewed properly, must lead to Christ. This is based on Christ's own words in the Gospel of John. "You diligently study the Scripture, because you think that by them you possess eternal life. Those are the Scriptures that testify about me" (John 5:39, *NIV*).

The second way of stating this principle is not theoretical or exegetical, but practical or theological. The great weakness of allegorical exegesis, which Luther despised, was that it imposed a too uniform christological sense and thus obliterated the historical setting of the text. Although he certainly was not free from this method, it was the practical outworking of the christological principle which often led Luther into hermeneutical difficulties. Though this is true, no one was more aware of the danger than Luther. It is this danger which led to Luther's painstaking exegesis. The ways in which he relates the literal sense to Christ are, however, extremely flexible.¹⁵ Luther could exercise great freedom and flexibility in his interpretation

¹¹J. S. Preus, "Luther on Christ and the Old Testament," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43 (1972) 490.

¹²See Gerhard Ebeling, "The New Hermeneutics and the Early Luther," *Theology Today* 21 (1964) 34-46.

¹³Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ*, 17.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 18.

since for him the tension was between law and gospel and not between letter and spirit.¹⁶ Thus, his theoretical rules were better than the outworking of them.¹⁷

The Weakness of the Christological Principle

Practically, it may be concluded that Luther's rule is true; exegetically, it leads to difficulties. It is an exegetical fraud to read developed Christian dogmas in between the lines of Jewish narratives.¹⁸ This practical use may be morally edifying, but it has a tendency to veil the historical content of a passage. When Luther reads the trinity and the work of Christ into OT events which happened thousands of years before the incarnation of Jesus, he is adopting a method which had been rejected hundreds of years earlier by the School of Antioch.¹⁹ Luther criticized the Antioch School for its rigid stance just as he criticized allegorists for their opposite position. The Antiochians held to a typological rather than a christological interpretation. This meant that they saw shadowy anticipation of what was to come. This meant nothing to Luther. To him, the OT was not a figure of what would be, but a testimony to what always holds true between humankind and God.²⁰ To Luther, allegory eradicated the historicity of the OT and typology annulled the historical presence of Christ in the OT.²¹ The weakness of the christological interpretation is that it veils the historicity of the OT.

Luther's desire to see Christ everywhere in Scripture often led to a forced interpretation of the passage. Frequently he would read a NT meaning into an OT passage.²² It should be noted that Luther attempted to avoid such forced interpretations. In place of interpretations which distort the text, Luther allows for two kinds of historical applications.

The first of these are texts which Luther often quotes when preaching. In these texts, the christological application is permitted where the details of the grammar or subject matter could refer to Christ. In the second kind, the text is sufficiently general to permit a valid application in various contexts.²³ Although Luther attempted to

¹⁶M. Anderson, "Reformation Interpretation," *Hermeneutics* (ed. B. Ramm; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1971) 84.

¹⁷L. Berkhof, *Principles of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950) 26.

¹⁸Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 333.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 334.

²⁰Preus, "Luther on Christ and the Old Testament," 493.

²¹H. Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament* (ed. by V. I. Gruhn; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 250.

²²An example is given in the evaluation of Luther's interpretation of Psalm 117.

²³Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ*, 20.

avoid forced interpretations, an examination of his OT commentaries shows that he was basically unsuccessful. Though he stated that he was willing to recognize only the historical or literal sense, and scornfully spoke of the allegorical interpretation, he did not avoid entirely the despised method. As a result, he was often guilty of forced exegesis.

The Strength of the Christological Principle

The christological principle, although admittedly prone to weaknesses, has many strengths as well. Luther's christological interpretation made him one of the most radical leaders of the Reformation. His attitude of critical independence caused him to be such a leader.²⁴ From a historical standpoint, blindness to salvation in Jesus Christ was alleviated through this principle. For him, it was Christ and his words which gave life that ultimately became the backbone of the Reformation.

The christological interpretation was the new element in Reformation interpretation. It rendered obsolete the fourfold sense of medieval exegesis. In its place appeared the centrality of Christ and the proclamation of faith in him for eternal life. It is interesting to see Luther finding Christ as law and gospel, in the Scriptures.²⁵

Although the results do not justify the means, it was this principle which drastically set Luther apart from Roman Catholic medieval exegesis. When viewed historically, the strengths of this principle have decidedly influenced the course of history in the past 400 years. Luther's greatest achievement in the field of biblical interpretation was his distrust of allegory and the fourfold method employed in the medieval period.²⁶ This was primarily achieved through the outworking of his christological interpretive principle.

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE EXAMINED

Luther's christological approach is determinative for his whole hermeneutical program.²⁷ It is with this in mind that Luther's hermeneutical principles are compared and contrasted to the hermeneutic of the existential school of theology, sometimes referred to as the "new hermeneutic." These theologians claim that Luther is the forerunner of their interpretive approach and it is fashionable to associate Luther with Bultmann and Bultmannian followers.²⁸

²⁴Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, 335.

²⁵M. Anderson, "Reformation Interpretation," *Hermeneutics*, 85.

²⁶Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, 249.

²⁷Wood, "Luther as an Interpreter of Scripture," 9.

²⁸For a survey and analysis of Bultmann, see R. C. Roberts, *Rudolph Bultmann's Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976).

Its Relation to the New Hermeneutic

The post Bultmannian advocates of the new hermeneutic²⁹ have been especially vocal in claiming Luther as their spiritual father. These interpreters of Bultmann have consistently claimed that in him one can see unmistakably the outlines of Luther. The issue of Luther versus the new hermeneutic does not rest on his christological principle. The fact that Bultmann and Luther used this principle (and often over-used it) is not denied. But did this principle lead Luther to an existential hermeneutic?

The basis for the claim that Luther is the father of the new hermeneutic comes from Luther's statement, "the Word of God, experienced in the heart, is the foundation of the doctrine of biblical inspiration."³⁰ It may be granted that psychological or sociological conditions often led the sensitive Luther to an interest in certain passages of Holy Scripture, and on occasion his existential approach even colored his interpretation. But did his experience stand over his view of Scripture, which then became God's Word through his own experience, or did he believe that Scripture properly stood over his experience as an objective revelation proclaiming the truth of God?³¹

The Bultmannians claim that medieval exegesis is to Luther's exegesis as the grammatical-historical principle of orthodox hermeneutics is to an existential hermeneutic.³² Thomas Parker agrees with this assessment:

In contrast to Calvin, Luther's interpretations tend to be subjective, directed toward the individual believer; accordingly Luther's hermeneutical principles can lead to an extreme—to a subjectivism (as in Bultmann) which stresses the religious feeling or the existential dimensions of subjective faith over against the object of faith, thus losing realism.³³

The best way to evaluate the claims that Luther's hermeneutic led to existential interpretation is to allow Luther to speak for himself. He answers the assessment in his statement at Worms:

²⁹Although the hermeneutical school of "demythologization" is technically associated with Bultmann, he also had a great influence on the "new hermeneutic" school as well. The fathers of the new hermeneutic are Ernst Fuchs and Gerhard Ebling. See A. Thiselton, "The New Hermeneutic," *New Testament Interpretation* (ed. I. H. Marshall; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 308–33.

³⁰J. T. Mueller, "Luther and the Bible," *Inspiration and Interpretation* (ed. J. F. Walvoord; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957) 94.

³¹J. W. Montgomery, *In Defense of Luther* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1970) 63.

³²See W. J. Kooiman, *Luther and the Bible* (trans. J. Schmidt; Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961). This work presents Luther's hermeneutic.

³³T. D. Parker, "The Interpretation of Scripture. A Comparison of Calvin and Luther on Galatians," *Interpretation* 17 (1963) 68.

Unless I am convinced by the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures or evident reason (for I believe in neither the Pope nor councils alone, since it has been established that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures that I have adduced, and my conscience has been taken captive by the Word of God; and I am neither able nor willing to recant, since it is neither safe nor right to act against conscience. God help me. Amen.³⁴

This statement has been heard so often that its significance is often overlooked. Luther said his conscience or his existential life was taken captive by the Word. Not only here, but at all critical times in his career, his experience was in subjection to the Scriptures. This can be seen in all of Luther's great debates, whether with Erasmus, Zwingli or others. He always appeals, not to his experience but, to the objectivity of the Scriptures. In refuting the claims of the new hermeneutic, Montgomery diagrams Luther's true hermeneutic as follows:

Instead of

$$\frac{\text{Medieval exegesis}}{\text{Luther's exegesis}} = \frac{\text{Orthodox hermeneutics}}{\text{Contemporary hermeneutics}}$$

In reality it is

$$\frac{\text{Medieval exegesis}}{\text{Luther's exegesis}} = \frac{\text{Contemporary hermeneutics}^{35}}{\text{Orthodox hermeneutics}}$$

In contrast to the claims of Bultmann's followers, Luther's hermeneutic is the converse of their claim. It actually stands irreconcilably in opposition to the existential hermeneutic. Bultmannian exegesis is a repristination of the very approach to the Bible that Luther opposed throughout his exegetical career. Perhaps in the early career of the Reformer, the claims could be proven. However, the one thing that characterized the life of Luther as an interpreter was his victory over the fourfold medieval exegesis.

In other words, the claims of the Bultmannians are invalid charges without an objective base. To understand Luther's approach to Scripture, it must be remembered that the Reformer's mind was institutional and practical rather than academic and analytical. Mueller says, "This practical orientation had a large influence on his interpretation of Scripture, in which he saw from beginning to end, Christ and the divine revelation of salvation through Him whom he adored as the divine Savior of the World."³⁶ In addition to the assertions that

³⁴G. Rupp, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms* (New York: Harper Torch Books, 1964) 96.

³⁵Montgomery, *In Defense of Martin Luther*, 67.

³⁶Mueller, "Luther and the Bible," 89.

Luther's christological principle led to an existential hermeneutic, his christological approach to the Bible is supposed to have freed him from an orthodox view of inspiration.

The christological principle has been accused of leading Luther to a limited view of inspiration. This charge, made primarily by existential theologians, must be examined. It is the position of the Bultmannian school that the Bible bears witness to Christ and it points to him. This is supposedly based on Luther's christological principle.

Luther realized that Scripture is both human and divine. He would insist that just as the accepted doctrine of Christ's person requires us to believe in the two natures of our Lord without confusion, without mutation, without division, without separation, so the twofold nature of Scripture should be recognized in both its full humanity and its full divinity.³⁷ The new hermeneuticians would agree that the Bible shares in the glory of the divinity of Christ and the lowliness of his humanity. However, this is where the comparison ends.

It has been said that Bultmann's interpreters see in him unmistakable outlines of the shadow of Luther. For just as Luther saw the inadequacy of humanity's moral effects toward salvation, so Bultmann saw the inadequacy of humanity's intellectual efforts to justify itself by way of a verbally inspired Scripture. Bultmannians would posit that since the Scripture is a historical document written by men and, to that extent, also participates in the frailty of all that is human, it also contains the relativity of all that is historical.

Although both Luther and Bultmann start with similar suppositions, their conclusions are extremely different. Luther, in contrast to Bultmann, presses the analogy between the incarnation and the nature of Scripture to its logical limit in what is called his christological approach. The human element of Scripture is no more impervious to error than was the human nature of Christ.³⁸ But whether Luther's christological principle led him to a fallible view of the Bible is answered in the negative. On the contrary, the christological principle is derived on the basis of a verbally inspired text. In his lectures to Chicago Lutheran Seminary, Philip Watson states:

Luther's Christological reading of the Old Testament is defended by noting that an entire play can properly be read in terms of its final act. This is quite true, but it should be stressed that Luther could legitimately do this because he was fully convinced that the entire Bible is the work of a single Playwright, whose perspicuous composition warrants such an interpretation.³⁹

³⁷Wood, "Luther as an Interpreter of Scripture," 9.

³⁸Ibid., 8-9.

³⁹Cited by Montgomery, *In Defense of Luther*, 75.

It was Luther's conviction that wherever Scripture speaks, it speaks with absolute authority and clarity.⁴⁰ Luther's belief in a reliable text can be seen from the above statements. However, his questionable view of canonicity has led others to continually charge that Luther did not hold to a position of verbal inspiration. This position of canonicity is the result of his refusal to accept tradition and his view that Christ must be seen in all Scripture. It is true that for Luther, the sign of canonicity was a book's apostolicity and christology. It is also true that on the basis of the above qualifications, he had trouble accepting the book of James. Although the author of Hebrews is unknown, Luther readily accepted it because of its Christ-centered emphasis.⁴¹

It is agreed that his christological principle opens doors for an attack against his view of inspiration. It must also be said that this view led to a mistaken understanding of canonicity, but it does not weaken his doctrine of inspiration. That Luther gave priority to certain sections of Scripture is not questioned, but it cannot be concluded from this practice that he held to a limited view of inspiration.

Scripture was Luther's sole authority. His preface to the Epistle of James does not prove otherwise. Scripture remained Luther's sole authority to the end of his life. Regardless of the assertions from the Bultmannian circles, Luther seemingly considered even those parts of the Bible which do not concern salvation to be inspired. Luther believed in a verbal plenary view of Scripture, but not a mechanical dictation theory. Luther's christological principle is a hermeneutical principle and does not negate his orthodox view of inspiration.⁴²

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE ILLUSTRATED

It has been previously stated that Luther insisted that the correct interpretation is the historical-grammatical sense. He said, "A text of Scripture has to be taken as it stands unless there are compelling reasons for taking it otherwise."⁴³ Luther saw no difference in consistency between the grammatical-historical principle and the christological principle.

The grammatical-historical principle tries to take Scripture at its plain sense. Every word is to be taken in its primary, ordinary, literal meaning within the immediate context. According to Terry, "This

⁴⁰M. Luther, *The Bondage of the Will* (trans. J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston; Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1957) 192.

⁴¹For a good account, see D. Carter, "Luther as an Exegete," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 32 (1975) 517-25. Also see L. W. Spitz, Sr., "Luther's Sola Scriptura," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 31 (1960) 740-45.

⁴²Mueller, "Luther and the Bible," 102-3.

⁴³M. Luther, *Luther's Works* (ed. J. Pelikan; St. Louis: Concordia, 1955), 1. 126.

principle is the one which most fully commends itself to the judgment and to the conscience of Christian Scholars. . . . Its fundamental principle is to gather from Scripture itself the precise meaning which the writers intended to convey."⁴⁴

It is in relation to the above guidelines that Luther's use of the christological principle will be examined. He made such comprehensive use of the christological principle in his exegesis that it is difficult to decide which passage to consider. Many passages could be cited, but for the purposes of this paper, only one passage will be examined.

Exegesis of Psalm 117

Psalm 117 is a short and simple psalm. It is a particularly suitable example because the psalm almost provides a NT interpretation for Luther's exegesis without a forced interpretation. The psalm reads:

Praise the Lord, all you heathen!
Extol Him, all you peoples!
For His steadfast love
and faithfulness toward us prevails forever.
Hallelujah!⁴⁵

Luther breaks the psalm into four parts: a prophecy, a revelation, a doctrine, and an admonition.

The prophecy is the promise of the gospel and of the kingdom of Christ, for if the heathen are called to proclaim God's praise, he must first have become their God. He must first be preached to them, and all idolatry must have been overcome through God's Word for them to believe in Him.⁴⁶ "Now see what an uproar this little Psalm caused in the whole world, how it raved and raged among the idols."⁴⁷

The revelation concerns the kingdom of Christ. It will be a spiritual, heavenly one, and not a temporal, earthly kingdom, for the psalmist lets the heathen remain where they are and does not call them together in Jerusalem. Thus the law of Moses is mightily nullified and something higher is commanded. The command is to praise God in all of the nations. For this to happen, God must have let himself be heard in all the world. "And where is there a God whose Word has sounded so far into all the world . . . as the gospel of Christ?"⁴⁸

⁴⁴M. S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1883) 173. Also see E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale, 1967).

⁴⁵Luther's translation (*Luther's Works*, 14. 3).

⁴⁶Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, 99.

⁴⁷Luther, *Luther's Works*, 14. 10.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 18.

The doctrine is that people can stand before God only in faith, for his goodness, his free grace, reigns over us and thus nullifies all of our own holiness under Jewish law, mass, monastic life, and good works. "Reigns over us" is in the mouth of the royal Psalmist, teaching how Jews and the heathen become one single people of God in faith, and the old law is completely annulled. Faith must grant the devil one small hour of divinity, and let him ascribe to our God devilhood. But this is not the final story. The last word is "His faithfulness and truth endure forever."⁴⁹

The admonition is an instruction concerning service to the Lord. It urges praise and thanksgiving. "The sacrifices of the old covenant are overcome as much as the mass, the monastic vows, pilgrimages, and the cult of the saints with which one wants to bargain and horsetrade with God."⁵⁰ "Whatever is not based solely on Christ the cornerstone but on one's piety or pious work does not endure."⁵¹

Luther has taken this small psalm and brought the brilliance of the gospel out of it. It may be better to say that he has read the gospel message into the psalm. Not only has he read a NT rendering into the psalm, but also attacks on the papacy, the monastic system, and what he refers to as "the cult of the saints." Luther has clearly presupposed his meaning into this psalm. There is no question that the interpretation is consistent with his preaching and his Reformation teachings. However, it is difficult to see how this interpretation could be derived from and be consistent with the grammatical-historical method. Even though the interpretation may move and stimulate one to Christ, it must be maintained that it is inconsistent with the grammatical-historical principle. It is very difficult to fault Luther, but he is guilty of the problem which has beset many interpreters: weighting the text to one's present situation and thus veiling its historical context. It is important to see that Luther did see the two horizons of Scripture.⁵² The interpreter must go to the historical context and back again,⁵³ but Luther often deemphasized the historical context.

Another example of Luther's christological interpretation is his understanding of the work of Moses. The essential secret work of Moses, if understood in faith, is leading men to Christ. He viewed the office of Moses as one which was to terrify sinners and, in an obscure way, to indicate redemption. The purpose of this was to humble the proud and console the humble.⁵⁴ Bornkamm explains this view saying,

⁴⁹Ibid., 32.

⁵⁰Ibid., 34.

⁵¹Ibid., 37.

⁵²See A. Thiselton, *Two Horizons* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980).

⁵³C. H. Dodd, *There and Back Again* (London: Hodder, 1932).

⁵⁴Luther, *Luther's Works*, 13. 79.

This is the exact opposite of God or Christ who needs the alien righteousness of wrath in accomplishing his own work, grace. Thus the office of Moses has a secret Christocentric meaning. It means that by driving man to the end of all his own possibilities, the office of Moses proves to him the impossibility of reaching God in this way and thus abrogates itself.⁵⁵

Thus, according to Luther, Moses knew of the gospel. He recognized his office as one of leading men to Christ. In a certain sense, this may be correct, but historically it is doubtful that Moses knew the gospel or understood the work of Christ even though he knew the promise. Again it seems that Luther has avoided the historical event by reading the NT into the OT. There are many examples which could show that Luther veiled the historical interpretation, but went a step further to find Christ in the passage.

According to Luther, all the promises of the OT find their ultimate fulfillment in Jesus Christ.⁵⁶ Luther's whole point simply is that in the interpretation of God's Word, the christological principle rules—everything must serve the central truth concerning the meritorious work of God's Son.⁵⁷

Preus comments,

It is because of this that for Luther the hermeneutical divide was between the testaments. He saw no theological or spiritual help from the Old Testament without reading the New Testament and Christ into it. It seemed never to occur to Luther that all of the promises, laws and prophecies were not to Christ but to the people of Israel. His intensity in his hermeneutics to make Christ the text apparently blinded him from the historical significance of the Old Testament.⁵⁸

For Luther, the cultural-historical setting of the OT was not necessary. He made an immediate direct and personal response to the OT world. He transferred the experiences of the OT into his own experience and cultural setting. The settings gave him valuable examples for his admonitions and exhortations.

The promises of the OT provided Luther with what he needed to bring his religion into experience or to transfer the theoretical to the practical. Granted the OT is full of life experiences, they must be read and interpreted in light of their cultural-historical background.⁵⁹

⁵⁵Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, 148–49.

⁵⁶Surburg, "The Presuppositions of the Historical-Grammatical Method as Employed by Lutheranism," 285.

⁵⁷E. F. Klug, *From Luther to Chemnitz* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 49.

⁵⁸J. S. Preus, *From Shadow to Promise* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969) 246.

⁵⁹Bornkamm, *Luther and the Old Testament*, 11–45.

In response to the objection that Luther's christological interpretation was making a text something not originally intended by the author, Luther would reply that the NT fulfillment of the OT promise is a part of the larger historical context of the OT passages. This is because God, the author of all biblical books, can set forth what the true intended meaning of the OT passage was by means of the NT.⁶⁰ Thus he foreshadows the canonical approach to hermeneutics.⁶¹

The basis for this response comes from Christ's own words on the way to Emmaus after his resurrection:

O foolish men and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary for the Christ to suffer these things and to enter into His glory? And beginning with Moses and with all the prophets, He explained to them the things concerning Himself in all the Scripture (Luke 24:25-27, *NASB*).

Surburg states,

When Luther finds Christ in the Old Testament he is not allegorizing as some might contend, but merely reading the Old Testament in the light of the New. In doing this he finds a deeper meaning than an exegete who ignores the New Testament.⁶²

Even though Luther's practice was not always consistent with his rules of interpretation, his attitudes and goals are admirable. In Luther's interpretation (as in other areas of his life), he consistently sought to magnify the Lord Jesus Christ. However, it must be concluded that the christological principle is a theological principle that accompanies the grammatical-historical method of interpretation and therefore the two are not completely inconsistent.

Its Significance to Present Day Evangelical Hermeneutics

Article III of the International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy hermeneutical principle states that "the person and works of Jesus Christ are the central focus of the entire Bible."⁶³ For the contemporary evangelical exegete, the validity of the christological principle must be questioned.

⁶⁰Surburg, "The Presuppositions of the Historical-Grammatical Method as Employed by Historic Lutheranism," 285.

⁶¹See C. Wood, *The Formation of Christian Understanding* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981) 82. The view is also advocated by Childs, Sanders, and Waltke.

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³"International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy Summit II: Hermeneutic Articles" (Chicago: 1982).

The christological principle is valid for today's interpreter as a canonical or theological principle. It is a second step beyond the grammatical-historical method. Thus it is proper to make christological interpretations regarding the experiences, promises, and prophecies of the OT. There is great spiritual insight to be gained from making this type of theological application. In doing so, one must remember not to divorce a passage from its cultic and historical background. A valid canonical interpretation will not stop at the grammatical-historical step but will seek the canonical and christological sense of the passage. With this in mind it can be concluded that the christological principle is valid as a theological principle of interpretation for evangelical exegetes and theologians.

AN INTERPRETATION OF DANIEL 11:36-45

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Dan 11:36-45 reveals the path to power of the Antichrist at the mid-point of the Tribulation period, when he initiates a new policy of aggression (11:36-39). Once he defeats the Arab and Soviet armies which attempt to stop him (11:40-45), he will inaugurate the eschatological climax of persecution against Israel which has been Israel's lot throughout the times of the Gentiles (12:1).

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RECENT events in the Middle East are attracting great interest. Christians especially are challenged to correlate these events with their understanding of biblical prophecy and to seize upon opportunities to witness for Christ while conversing about the Middle East.

One significant passage predicting events "at the end time" in "the Beautiful Land" and at "the beautiful Holy Mountain"¹ is Dan 11:36-45. Who is this "King of the North" (11:40)? Who is this king who "will do as he pleases" (11:36)? A Christian's witness for Christ concerning prophetic matters could backfire if his positions are based on anything but careful exegesis of the pertinent passages. Daniel 11 must be examined with special care in light of its difficulty.²

This study will first examine the context of this passage, then will address four crucial questions which determine the interpretive framework, and finally will provide a condensed commentary relating the particulars of the passage to the framework established.

CONTEXT OF DAN 11:36-45

Context of the book

Daniel had been carried away captive with other Hebrews into pagan Babylon. Was Nebuchadnezzar more powerful than YHWH?

¹Dan 11:40, 41, 45. All quotations are from the NASB unless otherwise noted.

²"Daniel 11 is no doubt the most difficult chapter of Daniel's prophecy." Donald Campbell, *Daniel: Decoder of Dreams* (Wheaton: Victor, 1977) 32.

Could YHWH provide for their needs outside of the land of promise? God's purpose in giving this revelation through Daniel appears to have been to reassure all that he was totally in control of the affairs of his chosen people Israel and of the affairs of the whole world as well.

Dan 11:36–45 traces the efforts of several Gentile kings to establish themselves as world rulers. Israel appears to be caught in the middle of these conflicts as the pre-eminent battleground, and all of this leads to "a time of distress such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time" (12:1). Thus, this section describes the climax of the persecution at the hands of a Gentile power like what Israel was experiencing in Daniel's day. The issue at stake involves a demonstration that God rules in spite of appearances, and the second half of the book was given in Hebrew to communicate especially to the nation of Israel God's plan and protection for them.

Context of the Section (10:1–12:13)

The message of God's rule over Israel (chaps. 8–12, written in Hebrew) consists of the vision of the ram and the he-goat received by Daniel in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar (chap. 8), the prayer of Daniel and the angelic revelation of the seventy weeks in the first year of Darius (chap. 9), and the vision received in the third year of Cyrus, king of Persia (chaps. 10–12). This last chronological identification (10:1) helps to indicate clearly that the final three chapters comprise a single unit. The point of this final vision is to project, for Israel, the future history of the nations as they move toward the consummation of history. The vision was given to Daniel toward the beginning of the Persian empire. Thus, Israel's problem of being under Gentile dominion did not stop with the fall of Babylon. Instead, the vision reveals that Israel would be under the dominion of Persia, Greece, and then Rome, until her ultimate deliverance through Messiah. This section may be outlined as follows:

CONSUMMATION OF HISTORY

- I. The Prologue 10:1–21
- II. The Vision 11:1–12:3
 - A. Introduction (1)
 - B. Persian Rule (2)
 - C. Greek Rule (3–35)
 - 1. Alexander the Great (3–4)
 - 2. Seleucids and the Ptolemies (5–20)
 - 3. Antiochus Epiphanes (21–35)

D. Roman Rule (11:36-12:1a)

1. The Power of the final Roman King (11:36-45)
2. The Persecution of the Saints (12:1a)

E. Messianic Rule (12:1b-3)

1. The Rescue of Israel (12:1b)
2. The Resurrections (12:2)
3. The Reward of the Righteous (12:3)

III. The Epilogue 12:4-13

Most agree that the chapter division, which isolates 12:1-3 from the rest of chap. 11 with which it structurally belongs, is poorly placed. The vision, running from 11:1 through 12:3, forms the heart of the section, and it reveals once more the same progression of world rulers as had been previously revealed in chap. 2 in Nebuchadnezzar's dream and in chap. 7 in the vision of the four beasts followed by the Son of Man. Persia (11:2) and Greece (11:2) are explicitly named. The consummative nature of resurrection and final judgment (12:2) imply the arrival of the smiting stone. If Daniel is to be consistent with his previous revelation on the progression of world rulers, one would expect the Roman Empire to appear between the Greek Empire and the Messianic reign.

The focus, in fact, in the section is upon the *climax* of the "times of the Gentiles." Such a large proportion of material was devoted to the career of Antiochus Epiphanes (11:21-35) because he was recognized to be a type of the final "man of sin" and persecutor of the Jews, Antichrist. Then in v 36, the focus shifts from the type to the antitype himself. Dan 11:36-45 reveals the power of this "wilful king" and 12:1a the climactic persecution that he unleashes against God's "people." But in this final hour, when the worst pressure possible is put upon Israel by Antichrist himself, Israel is rescued (12:1b)! God rules indeed! Thus, the final verses of Daniel 11 reveal the final enemy of Israel immediately preceding her final deliverance by the Messiah.

Conclusion

Climactic power and persecution is concentrated in Antichrist and prepares the way for Israel's climactic deliverance and Messianic rule.

CRUCIAL QUESTIONS ABOUT DAN 11:36-45

Many of the descriptive phrases in this passage are general or ambiguous enough to be adaptable to different people at different times. For example, Otto Zöckler adapts these phrases to a description

of Antiochus Epiphanes.³ Thomas Robinson, by contrast, applies the phrases to a continuing description of the Papacy of Rome.⁴

First, the crucial questions that establish the framework of the interpretation will be addressed before a verse by verse analysis of the entire passage will be attempted. The four crucial questions that establish the framework of Dan 11:36–45 are: (1) What is the temporal setting of the passage? (2) What is the identity of the “wilful king”? (3) What is the identity of the King of the North? and (4) What is the identity of the “attacker” in 11:40–45?

The Temporal Setting of 11:36–45.

1. Proposal: The events described here will take place during the Great Tribulation. The temporal setting is eschatological.

2. Proofs:

a. *Dan 12:1 “Now at that time.”* The end of chap. 11 is tied to the eschatological events presented in 12:1–3 by the chronological description “at that time.” Robert Culver clearly sets forth the determinative nature of this textual identification:

There is small doubt in the minds of any except a very few that the first portion of chapter 12 is prophecy concerning “last things”—in the theological nomenclature, “eschatology.” Events connected with the resurrection of the dead and final rewards and punishments can hardly be otherwise.

If there were a clean break in thought between chapters 11 and 12 it might be possible to say that all of the previous section of the prophecy relates to events of now past history. But such a break does not exist. Rather, a chronological connection is clearly provided between the last of chapter 11 and the first of chapter 12 by the opening words of chapter 12. Referring to the destruction of a certain king whose career is predicted in the last part of chapter 11, chapter 12 opens thus: “And at that time shall Michael stand up,” etc. Thus a clear connection with the eschatological prediction of chapter 12 is established for the last portion, at least, of chapter 11.⁵

b. *Dan 11:35, 36 “until the end time.”* The transition to the eschatological period is marked at v 35 when it is indicated that the “people who know their God” (cf. v 32) will continue to undergo suffering and persecution “until the end time; because it is still to

³Otto Zöckler, “The Book of the Prophet Daniel,” in *Lange’s Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, ed. John Peter Lange (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960) 254ff.

⁴Thomas Robinson, “Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Daniel,” *The Preacher’s Homiletic Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1974) 246ff.

⁵Robert D. Culver, *Daniel and the Latter Days* (Chicago: Moody, 1954) 163.

come at the appointed time." V 36 then opens with the phrase, "Then the king will do as he pleases." In other words, v 35 appears to summarize the continuation of the established pattern of the suffering of Israel during the "times of the Gentiles" "until the end time." Then in v 36 Daniel records the first revelation in this vision concerning this appointed end time. Gaebelein summarizes this conclusion: "Between verse 35 and 36 we must put a long, unreckoned period of time."⁶

c. *Dan 10:14 "in the latter days."* The angel giving the vision to Daniel explained that he had come to give Daniel "An understanding of what will happen to your people in the latter days, for the vision pertains to the days yet future" (10:14). This introduces a breadth of scope for the vision that may be expected to include something of the Messianic age and the final events of human history. But if 11:36-12:3 is not viewed as being eschatological, then the angel was misinformed, for nowhere else in the vision are the latter days in view.⁷

3. Supporting Arguments:

a. *The events of 11:36-45 do not fit Antiochus Epiphanes.* The leading alternative to the view that the temporal setting of this passage is eschatological is that it is a continued description of the career of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. 11:21-35). The pagan historian Porphyry is usually cited in order to justify this proposal historically, but E. J. Young, Robert Dick Wilson, H. C. Leupold, and John F. Walvoord have all given scholarly and convincing refutations of this attempt.⁸

b. *There is a natural break in the text after 11:35.* A number of the versions recognize the break in subject by making 11:36 begin a new paragraph or section (e.g., NASB).

4. Conclusion:

There is strong and clear chronological evidence in the text for identifying the temporal setting of the events of 11:36-45 as the eschatological time of Jacob's trouble falling within Daniel's 70th

⁶Arno Gaebelein, *Daniel* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1968) 179.

⁷Some do place the shift to the eschatological earlier than v 36. For example, Jerome identified the eschatological as beginning at 11:22, while G. H. Lang placed its beginning at 11:5. A consideration of such views lies outside the scope of this study. All that is being established now is that 11:36-45 is eschatological and not historical.

⁸E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949) 250-51; Robert Dick Wilson, *Studies in the Book of Daniel* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1972) 266; H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1949) 510; and John F. Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation* (Chicago: Moody, 1971) 271.

week. This conclusion will narrow the number of potential candidates for the role of the "wilful king."

The Identity of the "wilful king" of 11:36

1. Historical ruler or eschatological Antichrist?

If the argumentation regarding the temporal setting as presented above is accepted, then the answer to this question is also solved. However, not everyone has seen it this way. Mauro identified this king as Herod the Great, rabbinic interpreters such as Ibn Ezra identified him as Constantine the Great, Calvin saw in this "king" the Roman Empire, and Antiochus has remained a favorite candidate among liberal critics.⁹ The papal view as cited before (Robinson) is common among amillennial interpreters, and at least one recent commentator saw in Napoleon Bonaparte the "wilful king" of Dan 11:36-39.¹⁰

Jerome and Luther are among earlier men who also saw this figure as the Antichrist of the last days.¹¹ While other kings may match some of the descriptive phrases in 11:36-39, none but the Antichrist can measure up to the temporal qualifications of living "at that time" in the "time of distress such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time" (12:1).

2. "Beast of the sea" or the "false prophet?"

But complete agreement does not exist among those who agree that this wilful king is eschatological. Most are comfortable using the term "Antichrist," but are also comfortable with applying that designation to anyone they choose. For example, Herod, Constantine, the Pope, and Napoleon have all been viewed as "Antichrist." Once an eschatological identification is agreed upon, one must determine to which eschatological figure this "wilful king" corresponds.

J. N. Darby and Arno Gaebelein identified this king with the second beast of Revelation 13 (vv 11-17), or the "false prophet."¹² However, I am in agreement with most premillennial interpreters who identify the wilful king with the first beast of Revelation 13 (vv 1-10).

⁹C. F. Keil, "Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," *Commentaries on the Old Testament* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968) 461-62; and Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 246 for a listing of these and other interpretations.

¹⁰Roy Allan Anderson, "The Time of the End," *Signs of the Times* (November, 1970: 22, 23).

¹¹Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, transl. by Gleason L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1958) 136.

¹²Darby is cited by Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*, 272; cf. Gaebelein, *Daniel*, 180.

The function of the false prophet is to exalt the first beast, and the wilful king is said to "exalt and magnify himself" (11:36). The identification with the "beast of the sea" is preferable on the basis of the wilful king's preeminence and self-exaltation.

3. Jew or Gentile?

Perhaps the majority of premillennial interpreters have identified this man as a Jew. Since this "prince" (9:26) makes a covenant with the Jews (9:27) in order to bring about a substitute ("anti") peace, and since the Jews would accept only a Jew as "Messiah," it is felt that Antichrist must be a Jew.¹³

However, an increasing number of commentators are allowing for a gentile Antichrist. Walvoord points out that 11:37 does not use the Jewish expression "Jehovah of his fathers," but rather the non-covenant name "Elohim," which was used by the Gentiles.¹⁴ To the counter argument that Elohim is an equally acceptable designation for YHWH, Wood replies that since the singular $\text{לֵא} \text{ (la)}$ is used in this very context (11:36) for the singular referent "god," the plural $\text{לֵאלֹהִים} \text{ (la'elohim)}$ must be translated "gods."¹⁵ This would identify the wilful king as a gentile.

The answer to this question may influence the interpretation of a few phrases in the passage (such as "he will show no regard . . . for the desire of women") but is otherwise not a major matter. I am inclined to agree with Walvoord and Wood that the Antichrist will probably be of gentile extraction. One need not be a Jew in order to sign a treaty with Israel. In fact, the treaty of 9:27, being with "many," will probably involve many nations in addition to Israel. Perhaps it is more likely that the nations of the world will sign a peace treaty with a gentile than with a Jew. Furthermore, since the type of Antichrist, Antiochus, was not a Jew, the antitype need not be a Jew either.

4. Conclusion:

The wilful king of Dan 11:36-45 may be identified as an eschatological personage who will appear in the Tribulation period. His career and characteristics are elsewhere described in Daniel 7 (the "little horn"), in Daniel 9 ("prince that shall come"), in 2 Thessalonians 2 ("man of sin"), and in Revelation 13 ("beast . . . of the sea"). With these defining traits in view, he may be called the Antichrist.

¹³Lehman Strauss, *The Prophecies of Daniel* (Nept NJ: Loizeaux Brothers, 1969) 343; J. Allen Blair, *Living Courageously* (Chicago: Moody, 1971) 225; and John C. Whitcomb, "The Book of Daniel," *The New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962) 36.

¹⁴Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*, 273.

¹⁵Leon Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973) 306.

The identity of the King of the North in 11:40

1. Problem of identifying the King of the North.

Dan 11:40 introduces two new kings who attack the wilful king of 11:36–39. Little problem exists in identifying the King of the South; most identify him as the king of Egypt or a coalition of southern kingdoms in which Egypt is prominent. This harmonizes well with the entire pattern of Daniel 11, in which the Ptolemies are referred to with this same designation. The Ptolemies ruled from Egypt during the fractured period of the Hellenistic Empire. This identification is sealed by the specific reference to Egypt in 11:42 and 11:43.

However, similar unanimity does not exist with regard to identifying the King of the North. The reason for this ambivalence may be traced in part to the absence of any further specific geographical names as is true in the verses dealing with the King of the South. Nevertheless, several guidelines do exist in seeking to determine an identity for this king: his association with the Seleucids through the title "King of the North" as used throughout Daniel 11 and his activities as described in 11:40.

2. Proposals for identifying the King of the North.

Robinson and Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown (following Newton) propose that Turkey best fits this King of the North.¹⁶ Ray Baughman and Merrill Unger anticipate that Syria will fill this role.¹⁷ A large number, including Herman Hoyt, J. Dwight Pentecost, Lehman Strauss, and Leon Wood, feel that this King of the North will be Russia.¹⁸

3. Preferred identity of the King of the North.

a. Not Turkey. Those proposing Turkey as the origin of the King of the North do so in order to find a historical fulfillment for the King of the North. However, the eschatological setting of the passage forbids a historical fulfillment. Inasmuch as the Seleucids ruled over part of Turkey, it might be possible that Turkey would expand in terms of geographical extent and international power so as

¹⁶Robinson, "Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," 256; and Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, David Brown, *Commentary on the Whole Bible* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1961) 798.

¹⁷Ray E. Baughman, *The Kingdom of God Visualized* (Chicago: Moody, 1972) 177, and Merrill Unger, *Unger's Bible Dictionary* (Chicago: Moody, 1966) 798.

¹⁸Herman A. Hoyt, *The End Times* (Chicago: Moody, 1969) 152; J. Dwight Pentecost, *Things to Come* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1958) 344; Strauss, *The Prophecies of Daniel*, 345; Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 308.

to qualify as the eschatological King of the North. This appears to be very unlikely at the present time.

b. Not Syria. There is a *hermeneutical problem* related to the association of Syria with the Seleucids. One basis of determining a possible identification is found in the use of the title “King of the North,” which is used earlier in Daniel 11 to refer to the Seleucid branch of the Greek Empire. At that time

the dominion of the Seleucids . . . reached from Phrygia in the west to the Indus on the east. For the sources, see DS 19:58, 59; Appian 55; Arrian *Anabasis* 7:22.¹⁹

A map of the Seleucid Empire shows its wide geographical range,²⁰ and history has recorded the dominant international influence exerted. Consequently, since the Seleucid Empire dominated a wide geographical area and was a world political power, the single fact that Syria is located north of Israel is insufficient evidence to relate it to the King of the North.

Syria is extremely unlikely as a candidate for the role of the land of the King of the North inasmuch as it possesses neither the wide geographical range nor the world power that characterized the Seleucid kings. On this basis, Turkey is more likely than Syria. Turkey has a wider geographical scope, and the royal capital of the Seleucids, Antioch,²¹ lies in modern-day Turkey, not Syria. Wood summarizes the problem of political correspondence:

The designation “king of the North” is not so easily adapted, for the present Syrian government hardly qualifies as a world contender of the stature of the Seleucids.²²

There is also an *exegetical problem*—the activities of this king in 11:40. “And the king of the North will storm against him [the wilful king of 36–39] with chariots, with horsemen, and with many ships; and he will enter countries, overflow them, and pass through.” Then v 41 continues the narrative with the statement: “He will also enter the Beautiful Land.” If it can be demonstrated (I will attempt to do this in the next section) that the “he” of v 41 does not represent a change of antecedent, but is continuing the description of the King of

¹⁹Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 234; cf. Charles Pfeiffer, Howard Vos, *The Wycliffe Historical Geography of Bible Lands* (Chicago: Moody, 1967) 268.

²⁰See map xii of the Seleucid Empire in Merrill C. Tenney, *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976) vol. 5.

²¹E. M. Blaiklock, “Seleucia,” *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 5.331.

²²Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 308.

the North's attack against Antichrist, then the King of the North does not enter Palestine ("the Beautiful Land") until the events described in 11:41. This means that the attack on Antichrist involves the King of the North's entering, overflowing, and passing through other countries en route to Palestine.

But even if this understanding of the attacker in v 41 as the King of the North is not accepted, Keil does not believe that Syria matches the requirements of the activities described in 11:40:

The plural *בְּאַרְצוֹתָם* (*into the countries*) does not at all agree with the expedition of a *Syrian* king against Egypt, since between Syria and Egypt there lay *one* land, Palestine . . . but it is to be explained from this, that the north, from which the angry king comes in his fury against the king of the south, reached far beyond Syria. The king of the North is thought of as the ruler of the distant north.²³

Inasmuch as Syria and Palestine are adjoining neighbors, it is difficult to see how the King of the North can enter countries (plural) en route to attacking the Antichrist in Israel. The exegesis of 11:40 appears to require that the country of the King of the North be geographically removed from Israel by two or more other countries in the national boundaries of "the end time."

c. Probably Russia. Probably the majority of premillennial interpreters of this passage do identify the King of the North as the modern U.S.S.R. on the basis of a correlation with Ezekiel 38–39.

However, stronger supports for this view may be recognized in the hermeneutical and exegetical requirements discussed in connection with Syria. Russia meets the hermeneutical requirements involved in the title "King of the North" associated with the Seleucid empire. It has a corresponding northern location, a corresponding vast geographical scope, and a corresponding world political preeminence.

Consideration of Russia's history sheds further light on this question and makes its association with the Seleucid kings of the north even stronger. For example, Barabas states that "Magog was probably located between Cappadocia and Media; Josephus says it refers to the Scythians (Jos. *Antiq.* I. vi. 1)."²⁴ In other words, before the Scythians migrated further north they occupied the area between Cappadocia and Media which was part of the Seleucid empire.²⁵ A similar picture of Russia's roots is given in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*:

²³Keil, "Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," 470.

²⁴S. Barabas, "Gog and Magog," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* 2.770.

²⁵Cf. map xii, *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, vol. 5.

A stricter geographical location would place Magog's dwelling between Armenia and Media, perhaps on the shores of the Araxes. But the people seem to have extended farther north across the Caucasus, filling there the extreme northern horizon of the Hebrews (Ezek. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2). This is the way Meshech and Tubal are often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions (Mushku and Tabal, Gk. Moschoi and Tibarenoi).²⁶

Finally, Russia also fits the exegetical requirements of 11:40 inasmuch as they would have to "enter countries, overflow them, and pass through" in order to attack Antichrist in Israel. Since the association with the Seleucids and the activities described in 11:40 provide the only objective basis for identifying this King of the North, and since Russia best fits these associations, Russia is the most probable identification of the origin of this king.

d. Prudence in identifying the King of the North. One should not stress the name of a current country, because the geographical and political boundaries of countries are in a state of flux. Wood points out the proper posture:

Because the political situation in the world could well be different when the Antichrist rules, however, it stands to reason that the terms should be adapted to whatever that difference may prove to be.²⁷

While the names and fortunes of individual countries may change, the criteria for identifying the King of the North will not change: his country will be north of Israel and separated from Palestine by at least two borders, and his country will occupy a large geographical area and exert world power and influence.

The identity of the "attacker" in 11:40–45

Vv 41–45 trace the significant activities of a king designated only by the pronoun "he." Is the antecedent of these pronouns the attacker of v 40 (the King of the North) or the person being attacked (the wilful king)? Since it is not revealed who wins the battle between Antichrist and the kings of the north and of the south, ambiguity about the identity of the "he," "his," and "him" referred to throughout vv 41–45 remains. Is this a continued attack of the King of the North that began in v 40b, or is this the counterattack by the wilful king?

²⁶Vol. 5, p. 14 as cited by Pentecost, *Things to Come*, 328. For similar arguments, cf. Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 309.

²⁷Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 308.

1. Antichrist as the counterattacker in vv 41-45

a. *Position.* J. Dwight Pentecost states this position as follows:

From this passage several features concerning the movement of this invasion are to be seen. (1) The movement of the campaign begins when the King of the South moves against the Beast-False Prophet coalition (11:40), which takes place "at the time of the end." (2) The King of the South is joined by the northern confederacy, who attacks the Wilful King by a great force over land and sea (11:40). Jerusalem is destroyed as a result of this attack (Zech. 12:2), and, in turn, the armies of the northern confederacy are destroyed (Ezek. 39; Zech. 12:4). (3) The full armies of the Beast move into Palestine (11:41) and shall conquer all that territory (11:41-42). Edom, Moab, and Ammon alone escape. It is evidently at the time that the coalition of Revelation 17:13 is formed. (4) While he is extending his dominion into Egypt, a report that causes alarm is brought to the Beast (11:44). It may be the report of the approach of the Kings of the East (Rev. 16:12) who have assembled because of the destruction of the northern confederacy to challenge the authority of the beast. (5) The Beast moves his headquarters into the land of Palestine and assembles his armies there (11:45). (6) It is there that his destruction will come (11:45).²⁸

In this scenario, the initial aggression is seen to come from the King of the South and then from the King of the North. Then Antichrist is seen to seize this opportunity to counterattack and pursue his own policy of military aggression as described in vv 41-45 until he meets his end at Armageddon. Vv 40 and 41 are usually taken as referring to the middle of the Seventieth Week of Daniel 9, involving the breaking of the covenant, and vv 44 and 45 are usually taken as referring to the end of the Seventieth Week and the battle of Armageddon. Thus, this passage is viewed as summarizing a whole series of military campaigns spanning the entire 42 months of the end of Daniel's seventieth week.

Probably the majority of premillennial interpreters subscribe to this view. It is especially prominent among "popular" writers such as Oliver Greene, Charles Ryrie, and C. I. Scofield, and has been published in such magazines as *Moody Monthly* and *Good News Broadcaster*.²⁹

²⁸Pentecost, *Things to Come*, 356.

²⁹Oliver Greene, *Daniel* (Greenville: The Gospel Hour, 1954) 439; Charles C. Ryrie, ed., *The Ryrie Study Bible* (Chicago: Moody, 1978) 1242; C. I. Scofield, ed., *The New Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University, 1967) 917; Alfred Martin, "Daniel: Key to Prophecy," *Moody Monthly* (July-August, 1972) 64; and Theodore Epp, "Events in the End Time," *Good News Broadcaster* (October 1969) 7-9; "Four Confederations of Nations," *Good News Broadcaster* (November 1969) 22-25.

b. Proofs. Usually this position is assumed to be correct rather than having to be proven to be correct. Two lines of support do seem to be used: a contextual argument and a chronological argument.

The prominence of Antichrist in the immediately preceding context (11:36–40), along with the prominence of Antichrist in prophetic literature, argues for a continued emphasis upon Antichrist in vv 41–45. Accordingly, the “he” of v 41 would refer back to the “him” of v 40, which does refer to the wilful king of vv 36–39.

It appears that the single biggest support for this position is the mention of “rumors from the East and from the North” (v 44) which lead to Antichrist’s return to Palestine, “the beautiful Holy Mountain” (v 45), where he comes to his end. The rumors from the east are associated with Rev 9:13–21 and with Rev 16:12–16, and the end of this man is associated with Armageddon, which follows immediately. Wood explains it this way:

While in this section of Africa, the Antichrist will hear of trouble from the east and north, which will give him cause for alarm. The nature of the rumors or whom they concern is not indicated. Some expositors believe they concern the invasion of a vast horde of 200,000,000 warriors from the far east (Rev. 9:16) under the leadership of “kings of the east” (Rev. 16:12), who will have heard of the Antichrist’s victory over the earlier north-south confederacy and will then wish to challenge him for world leadership.³⁰

Because Antichrist is defeated and thrown alive into the lake of fire at this point (Rev 19:19, 20), it is inferred that Antichrist is the subject of all of vv 41–45.

2. The king of the North as the attacker in vv 40–45

a. Position. John C. Whitcomb states the essence of this position in the *New Bible Dictionary*:

Verse 35b is regarded as providing the transition to eschatological times. First the antichrist comes into view (xi. 36–39); and then the final king of the north, who, according to some premillennial scholars, will crush temporarily both the antichrist and the king of the south before being destroyed supernaturally on the mountains of Israel (xi. 40–45; cf Joel ii. 20; Ezek. xxxix. 4, 17). In the meantime, antichrist will have recovered from his fatal blow to begin his period of world dominion (Dn. xi. 44; cf. Rev. xiii. 3, xvii. 8).³¹

Vv 40–45, then, are descriptive of the respective defeats of the kings of the south and of the north. The King of the South is defeated by

³⁰Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 313.

³¹John C. Whitcomb, “The Book of Daniel,” 293.

the King of the North, and the King of the North is then brought to his end by an unnamed adversary (Antichrist?) in v 45. The result of the elimination of Antichrist's most powerful adversaries is to establish firmly his absolute worldwide dominion shortly after the middle of the seventieth week. This in turn leads to his abuse of his tremendous powers, in part by persecuting the Jews (12:1a) throughout the rest of the seventieth week.

William Foster, Thomas Robinson, Paul Tan, John Whitcomb, and J. Allen Blair are among those holding this identification.³²

b. Proofs. Grammatical, exegetical, and several contextual arguments may be used to support this position.

William Foster argues that the antecedent for the pronoun "he" in v 41 is the King of the North in v 40 who "will storm against him with chariots . . .":

The nature of this problem is not the same as that of the ambiguous pronoun which precedes it, since, in the former sense, the person referred to by the pronoun was regarded as the passive object of the action, whereas in the present instance the pronoun represents the active source of the action. Since it is the king of the north who is the active contender, the natural reading would probably indicate that he also should be the one represented as entering into the countries.³³

Without any textual indication to reverse the subject (King of the North) and the object (Antichrist) of the action in v 40, the "he" which is the subject of v 41 most naturally refers back to the subject of v 40.

Furthermore, this identification of the antecedent of "he" in 11:40b as the King of the North is supported by the fact that the King of the North is the nearest possible antecedent. Most English translations are misleading at this point because they invert the word order. For example, the NASB reads ". . . and the king of the North will storm against him . . . and he will enter countries . . ." (11:40). The pronoun "him" (Antichrist) appears to be the nearest possible antecedent of the pronoun "he" in the English translation. However, in the Hebrew text, the object "against him" (עָלָיו) precedes the subject "the King of the North" (מֶלֶךְ הַצָּפוֹן). This word order makes the King of the North, and not Antichrist, the nearest possible antecedent for the pronoun "he." Without any textual indication for doing so, it is unwarranted to jump over the nearest antecedent, the King of the North. This identification is critical because this initial pronoun is

³²William Foster, "The Eschatological Significance of the Assyrian," Th.D. dissertation, Winona Lake, IN: Grace Theological Seminary, 1956.

³³*Ibid.*, 152.

followed by an entire series of pronouns in 11:41-45 which continue the same reference.

Foster goes on to argue that the geographical progression in the text between v 40 and v 43 also identifies the attacking king of 11:41-45 as the King of the North:

... the direction of his conquest is a positive proof that this description is of the King of the North—"he shall enter also into the glorious land ... the land of Egypt shall not escape ... and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps" (Dan. 11:41-42). In the prophecy of Daniel the phrase "the glorious land" is used three times as a designation for the land of the Jews into which an invader proceeds (Dan. 8:9; 11:16; 11:40). In each case, the invader is one who comes from the north, and in each case one who comes from the Seleucidæan Kingdom. ... Therefore, the direction of conquest, entering first into Palestine, then Egypt, then Lybia and Ethiopia, would indicate that the invading army proceeded from the north.³⁴

While not all who hold this view feel that this proof is as conclusive as Foster makes it sound, the movement against Antichrist begun from the north (v 40) may be seen to flow most naturally into Palestine (v 41) and then on south past Edom, Moab, and Ammon into Egypt (v 42) and finally into Libya and Ethiopia. While this is not the only way to visualize the geographical progression, it is the smoothest and most unified movement. It is reasonable to expect that vv 41-45 do continue the movement begun in v 40 unless there is some textual clue to indicate another movement.

Three contextual arguments also support this conclusion. First, throughout Daniel 11 the King of the South and the King of the North are depicted as natural enemies who are continually warring against one another. This identification fits the pattern and also provides a fitting climax to this struggle in the end time.

Second, the phrase "Now at that time" of 12:1 immediately follows the conclusion of this section in 11:45. Inasmuch as 12:1 goes on to say that at that time "there *will* be a time of distress such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time," the very middle of the seventieth week is in view. If the time of Jacob's trouble is just about to begin at the time of the demise of the king in 11:45, then this king *cannot* be Antichrist, but must be the King of the North. This temporal designation at 12:1 dare not be treated too loosely, for it is the cornerstone in the argument in favor of an eschatological interpretation of this passage.

³⁴Ibid., 152-53.

Third, this identification is in keeping with the whole argument and development of the Book of Daniel and of the last half of the book in particular. Daniel is demonstrating that God is still the ruler over all in spite of Israel's captivity. Their persecutions will not soon end, but when they do reach their climax at the hand of the wilful king, Antichrist himself, during the time of Jacob's trouble, then Messiah will rescue Israel (cf. 12:1b) and institute his kingdom. If it is indeed Antichrist rather than the King of the North who is destroyed in 11:45, then 12:1 is both anticlimactic and out of sequence temporally. Preserving the argument and development of this section involves identifying the attacker in vv 40–45 as the King of the North.

3. Conclusion: the King of the North is the attacker in vv 40–45

That I prefer this explanation is evident by now. Not only does this position rest on good, solid exegesis of the text, but it also avoids the weaknesses in the alternate view. Following is a brief consideration of three of these weaknesses.

a. 11:40. There is a complete lack of exegetical indicators for switching from the kings of the south and north to Antichrist as the attacker in v 41. George N. H. Peters, who held the Antichrist view himself, admitted this weakness:

“And he shall enter into the countries”—this is perhaps the clause which has caused the greatest difficulty to critics, owing to the *sudden transition* from one person to another. If we were to confine ourselves to this prophecy, it would be impossible from the language to decide *what king* this was that is to enter into the countries; whether the King of the North, or of the South, or of the Roman Empire. . . .³⁵

Peters then goes on to justify an abrupt shift in 11:40 to the Antichrist on the basis of other passages, such as Daniel 2 and 7 and Revelation 17. He openly admits that there is nothing in the language of the text itself to justify this sudden transition from the description of the activity of the King of the North in the phrase immediately preceding “he shall enter into the countries.”

b. 11:41. Those favoring the Antichrist view picture the kings of the south and of the north as coming against Israel in 11:40. Then Antichrist is seen responding to this aggression in 11:41 by entering the “beautiful land” for the first time himself and instituting a counter-attack of his own. There is a serious problem with this interpretation, however, for the text does not say that the kings of the south and north attacked *Israel*. Instead, it twice indicates that these two kings attacked *him* (Antichrist; 11:40). Consequently, Antichrist

³⁵George Peters, *The Theocratic Kingdom* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1952) 2.654. The italics are those of Peters.

cannot subsequently enter the scene at the end of v 40 or at v 41. The attack against him puts him in the middle of the action right from the beginning of v 40. This fact is also pointed out by Ray Baughman: “. . . the king of the north (and the king of the south) comes against the Antichrist, not against Israel (Daniel 11:40).”³⁶

c. 11:44, 45. A third weakness is the association of the “rumors from the East and from the North” with the kings of the east of Revelation 9 and 16. Almost all commentators will admit that the King of the North hears these rumors while conducting his Libyan and Ethiopian campaigns to the south and west of the “Beautiful Land” that he had passed through on his way down to Egypt. V 45 records his trip back to the east and the north to the “beautiful Holy Mountain” (Jerusalem). This is textual evidence that the rumors emanated from or concerned something going on in Palestine. There is no textual basis whatsoever for seeing kings of the east here. Not a word is mentioned about *kings* of the east. And this conjecture is made on the basis of identifying this king as Antichrist and of changing the temporal setting from the middle of the seventieth week to the end of the week at Armageddon. That it would require Antichrist 42 months to subdue this coalition of southern kings is hard to reconcile with Rev 13:4: “Who is like the beast, and who is able to wage war with him?”

Summary

It has been stated that the interpretation of Dan 11:36–45 rests upon one’s answers to four crucial questions. Each of these questions, therefore, has been considered in depth. The temporal setting of the text was found to be an eschatological one, specifically that of the middle of the seventieth week of Dan 9:27. The wilful king was found to be the Antichrist of the Tribulation period, the beast of Revelation 13. Most premillennial interpreters would agree with these identifications.

However, premillennialists are divided on the answers to the last two crucial questions. It was determined that modern Russia is the most likely identification of the place of origin of the King of the North in this passage, and that it is this same King of the North (and not Antichrist) whose final exploits are traced in vv 41–45, ending in his demise. Thus, in vv 40–45 both the King of the South and the King of the North are defeated, leaving Antichrist as sole world ruler at the middle of the seventieth week.

This establishes the basic framework of this interpretation. It now remains only to do a brief phrase-by-phrase commentary on the entire passage to determine how the details fit into this framework.

³⁶Baughman, *The Kingdom of God Visualized*, 179.

CONDENSED COMMENTARY

"Roman Rule: Israel's Final Enemy"
(Daniel 11:36-12:1a)

Having retraced prophetically the Persian rule (11:2) and the Greek rule (11:3-35), the angel revealed that the climax of Israel's suffering under Gentile dominion would be the final Roman ruler (11:36-12:1a) and that it would last until Messiah comes to rescue Israel (12:1b) and establish his everlasting kingdom (12:2, 3). So this is the final stage of the fourth kingdom that will be crushed by the stone cut without hands (cf. 2:44, 45). This constitutes further revelation about the fourth beast and the little horn (7:7, 8) that will immediately precede the Son of Man's establishment of his everlasting dominion (7:9-14).

ISRAEL'S FINAL ENEMY

- I. The Power of the Roman King 11:36-45
 - A. Arrogance and Aggression of the Roman King (36-39)

(Power Asserted)

 1. Arrogance of the Roman King (36-38)
 2. Aggression of the Roman King (39)
 - B. Attackers of the Roman King Defeated (40-45)

(Power Attested)

 1. The Roman King Attacked (40)
 2. The King of the South Defeated (41-43)
 3. The King of the North Defeated (44-45)
- II. The Persecution of the Saints by the Roman King 12:1a

(Power Abused)

Power of the final Roman King: 11:36-45

Vv 36-39 record the assertion of the Roman king's power through his arrogance (vv 36-38) and his acts of aggression (v 39). This power is then attested (vv 40-45) when the Roman king is attacked (v 40) by world powers from the south and from the north. First the southern coalition is defeated (vv 41-43) and then the northern armies are defeated (vv 44-45), leaving the Roman king with absolute, worldwide, unchallenged power.

1. Arrogance and aggression of the Roman king (vv 36-39)

a. Arrogance of the Roman king (vv 36-38)

"Then the king will do as he pleases." This introduces a ruler who has absolute authority and can act in an arbitrary manner without having to answer to anyone.

"And he will exalt and magnify himself above every god." This absolute ruler will be arrogant and given to self-exaltation. Paul, in

2 Thess 2:4 quotes this phrase ("who opposes and exalts himself above every so-called god or object or worship") thus identifying this Roman king with the "man of lawlessness, the son of destruction" in 2 Thessalonians 2. Likewise, the Roman king is associated with the little horn of Dan 7:8 who also is characterized by self-exaltation: "and behold, this horn possessed . . . a mouth uttering great boasts."

"And will speak monstrous things against the God of gods."

This Roman king will blaspheme the living God. This is the first hint that the Roman king has now broken the covenant with Israel (Dan 9:27) and has defiled the temple "in the middle of the week" (Dan 9:27). This corresponds to other pictures given of Antichrist. "And he will speak out against the Most High" (Dan 7:25); "And he opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, to blaspheme His name and His tabernacle" (Rev 13:6).

"And he will prosper until the indignation is finished." Such terrible blasphemy does not mean that God has lost control. To the contrary, God foreordained such persecutions against Israel for the purpose of chastening his chosen people and for preparing them for repentance. The concept of indignation runs through the entire book. For example, 8:19 reveals "the final period of indignation; for it pertains to the appointed time of the end." Dan 7:25 follows the description of the little horn's blasphemy with an account of his persecution of the Jews for the final 3½ years of the Tribulation period: "And he will speak out against the Most High and wear down the saints of the Highest One, and he will intend to make alterations in times and in law; and they will be given into his hand for a time, times, and half a time."

"For that which is decreed will be done." Dan 11:36 concludes this awful description of arrogant blasphemy with a reminder that God is in control. Dan 9:26 had revealed that "desolations are determined" and 9:27 had spoken of destruction "that is decreed." This is the main point of the entire Book of Daniel. "God is supremely in charge of history, even when the Antichrist rules."³⁷

"And he will show no regard for the gods of his fathers or for the desire of women." This Roman king will not blaspheme YHWH out of allegiance to a rival religious deity; this monarch will be an atheist who also rejects his own religious heritage. The phrase "desire of women" is ambiguous, and this ambiguity has opened the door to many fanciful interpretations.³⁸ The only textual control is that the

³⁷Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 306.

³⁸Cf. Keil, "Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," 464; Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 516; George Williams, *The Student's Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1960) 629; Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 249, for various proposals of pagan goddesses. See M. R. DeHaan, *Daniel The*

phrase occurs in a context of Antichrist's religion and his rejection of his religious heritage. There is good reason to believe that this religion is probably non-Jewish (see p. 211).

"Nor will he show regard for any other god; for he will magnify himself above them all." This description continues to be consistent with the fulfillment of the "Abomination of Desolations" in which Antichrist causes the sacrifices to cease (cf. Dan 12:11) and he demands worship of himself. Antichrist "exalts himself above every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, displaying himself as being God" (2 Thess 2:4).

"But instead he will honor a god of fortresses, a god whom his fathers did not know; he will honor him with gold, silver, costly stones, and treasures." In one sense, no one is a complete atheist; everyone "worships" something. The Roman king's value system will center in power and force and in materialism (gold, silver, etc.). Might will make right for this man. Strauss makes an interesting association of this description of Antichrist's "religion" with that of the first beast in Revelation 13:

It is possible that the god mentioned here is the image of Antichrist, the first beast in Revelation 13, whose design and construction were ordered by the second beast (Revelation 13:11-15). If we are correct in this, then that image will be made from gold, silver, and precious stones, as mentioned in Daniel 11:38.³⁹

Summary: Everything in vv 36-38 points to the arrogance of this self-centered Roman king who is answerable to no man or to no god but himself. The ultimate expression of this arrogance may well be his breaking of the covenant with Israel and his desolation of the temple while demanding worship of himself. Such an act would provide an appropriate background for the aggressive acts recorded in 11:39.

b. Aggression of the Roman king (v 39)

"And he will take action against the strongest of fortresses with the help of a foreign god." Antichrist now puts his faith in power and might into practice by attacking "the strongest of fortresses." Such military aggression seems out of place during the first half of the seventieth week when the covenant of peace is in force. Consequently, the mid-point of the week has just been passed and the abomination of desolation has just taken place.

Prophet (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1947) 299; Gaebelin, *Daniel*, 188; Strauss, *The Prophecies of Daniel*, 343; Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*, 274, for arguments in favor of seeing this as a reference to a Messianic hope.

³⁹Strauss, *The Prophecies of Daniel*, 344.

"He will give great honor to those who acknowledge him, and he will cause them to rule over the many." This also could indicate that the covenant has been broken. Under the covenant, this Roman king enjoyed significant peace-keeping powers.⁴⁰ However, he did not enjoy corresponding absolute power. At the mid-point of the seventieth week, Antichrist chooses to pursue personal power. This immediately causes factions and choosing of sides. Antichrist will devise a reward system to delegate some of his ruling authority to those who choose to follow him.

"And will parcel out land for a price." Once more Antichrist is viewed as having engaged in territorial expansion. In his attack upon "the strongest of fortresses," he appears to have been successful so that he is now in a position to parcel out this newly acquired land. Exactly what land is in view is ambiguous, but it is intriguing to consider that this land may be in Israel. This would place Antichrist in Palestine on one of his military expeditions of expansion, so that the kings of the south and of the north attack him while he is in the "beautiful land" (11:40-41). In any case, this action characterizes an aggressive expansionist and not a global peacemaker.

c. Summary.

The picture of world conditions under Antichrist's rule at the close of vv 36-39 is hardly one of tranquility and peace. Fortresses are being attacked, puppets are being installed as rulers, and land is being redistributed. The world is witnessing military aggression instituted by the one who was to have been the peacemaker to end all peacemakers. That Antichrist entered upon this campaign of raw aggression presupposes his having broken his covenant with Israel and the nations.

This aggression provokes an attack against the Roman king by two of the world power blocks headed by the King of the South and the King of the North (11:40). However, the defeat of these two powers (11:40-45) will only serve to demonstrate the power of the Roman king.

2. Attackers of the final Roman king defeated (vv 40-45)

a. Attack upon the final Roman king (v 40).

"And at the end time the king of the South will collide with him." When Antichrist manifests his true character in the middle of

⁴⁰Thus, the Roman king has already overcome his western opposition (cf. Dan 7:20, 24) by the outset of the seventieth week of Daniel, and the firm covenant "with the many" (Dan 9:27) must be a peace treaty involving most, if not all, of the major nations of the world, including Israel.

the seventieth week, a coalition of southern (Arab) nations move to block his new policy of aggression.

"And the king of the North will storm against him with chariots, with horsemen, and with many ships." Simultaneous with, or just subsequent to, the attack by the King of the South comes a second attack upon the Roman king from the north. This distinguishes three kings: the King of the North, the King of the South, and the "him" (עָלָיו; עִמּוֹ), the Roman king. This prevents identifying the King of the North as the same person as the Roman king.⁴¹ The "him" also does not permit the interpretation that this attack is against Israel; it is against the Roman king and his forces. Since the Roman king is consistently characterized as warring against the saints (cf. Rev 13:7; Dan 7:24–25; Dan 12:1), it is incomprehensible that the Jews should now be allied with him. However, it is possible that the attack upon the Roman king takes place within the confines of Palestine. "The variety of the resources that are to be employed against the Antichrist indicate how great his power must be at the latter end—'chariots, horsemen, and many ships.'"⁴²

"And he will enter countries, overflow them, and pass through." If the Roman king is situated in Palestine, then the King of the North will come from some distance and sweep through several other countries en route to the major attack. The normal sense of the language is to see this as a continued description of the activities of the King of the North. There is no textual evidence of a change in subject.

b. Defeat of the King of the South (vv 41–43).

"He will also enter the Beautiful Land." The movement of the King of the North now carries him as far south as Palestine, which is the orientation point of "north" and "south" in the first place. Once more there is a lack of any textual evidence for changing the subject of this action from the King of the North. The 3 m.s. pronoun cannot even be considered ambiguous in the context. The only ambiguous element is the location of the Roman king. Is he located in the land of Palestine, or is he located in one of the countries entered into and overflowed by the King of the North in 11:40? Or is he located in one of the other countries mentioned in this verse?

"And many countries will fall." Wherever Antichrist may be, it is implied that he is among the fallen as a result of this attack.

⁴¹Some do hold that the King of the North and the wilful king are the same here. See for example, Culver, *Daniel and the Latter Days*, 164. Since very few commentators hold this position, little effort is made here to refute it. See Foster, "The Eschatological Significance of the Assyrian," 135–37, for arguments that three persons are involved.

⁴²Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel*, 521.

Whitcomb proposes that this temporary defeat of Antichrist at the hand of these two opposing kings may shed some light on the "deadly wound" of the Roman king emphasized in the Book of Revelation (cf. 13:3, 12, 14; 17:8, 11).⁴³ As Antichrist simply drops out of sight (and is left for dead?), the King of the North seizes this opportunity to further his own ambitions for world power. His main enemy having been eliminated, the King of the North now attacks his rivals, including former allies.

"But these will be rescued out of his hand: Edom, Moab, and the foremost of the sons of Ammon." On his way south in attacking the King of the South, the King of the North evidently bypasses the area of Edom, Moab, and Ammon to the east of the Jordan (occupied by modern-day Jordan). While there may be some additional prophetic significance to the bypassing of these nations at this time,⁴⁴ the most simple explanation for "why countries to the southeast of Palestine will escape destruction is that the path taken . . . will lead southwest."⁴⁵

"Then he will stretch out his hand against other countries and the land of Egypt will not escape." Now the primary target of this march to the south is revealed. The King of the North has turned against his former ally, the King of the South, who is now a chief rival for world leadership. This battle has truly become a "world war" because of the repeated summary mention of "countries" being involved (vv 40, 41, 42). Furthermore, the most probable identity of the King of the South is herein revealed to be the sovereign of Egypt.

"But he will gain control over the hidden treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and Libyans and Ethiopians will follow at his heels." Egypt evidently will have been amassing gold and silver in exchange for her natural resources, and these precious things are stripped from her as part of the booty. Having conquered Egypt, the King of the North then appears to divide his forces. One part of his army campaigns in Libya to the west of Egypt, and another part of the army campaigns in Ethiopia to the southeast. The King of the North has defeated the King of the South and is engaged in follow-through campaigns to establish himself firmly as ruler of the world. His dreams appear to be within reach of realization when something totally unexpected happens.

c. Defeat of the King of the North (vv 44-45).

"But rumors from the East and from the North will disturb him, and he will go forth with great wrath to destroy and annihilate

⁴³Cf. Whitcomb, "The Book of Daniel," 293.

⁴⁴Strauss, *The Prophecies of Daniel*, 346.

⁴⁵Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel*, 312.

many." In light of the sudden return of the King of the North to Palestine (11:45), these rumors from the east and from the north must have emanated from, or have concerned, Palestine. The frame of reference for "east" and "north" is no longer Palestine, but the actual location of the King of the North in Libya and Ethiopia. Palestine is "east" of Libya and "north" of Ethiopia. Or if one wishes to de-emphasize these split campaigns and view the entire operation as one united campaign against Egypt and her allies, Palestine is northeast of Egypt.

Perhaps 11:44-45 is intended to reveal nothing more than the change in direction of the King of the North back to the northeast, back to Palestine. It is interesting, however, to try to integrate prophetic truth. The similarity of "rumors from the east" to "the kings of the east" of Revelation 9 and 16 has led many commentators to associate them. For at least two reasons these passages probably are not describing the same events. First, the geographical reference point differs. In Revelation, east is reckoned from Palestine, whereas east and north in Dan 11:44 is reckoned from Africa. Second, the temporal reference points differ. Revelation 16 clearly takes place at the end of the seventieth week as it climaxes at the battle of Armageddon, whereas Dan 12:1 clearly fixes the time of 11:44, 45 as the middle of the seventieth week and the start of Jacob's trouble.

More likely is the correspondence between Dan 11:44-45 and the Roman king's deadly wound as recorded in Revelation 13. The Roman king is here described as a beast out of the sea (13:1), but his correspondence with the tenfold symbolism of the Roman empire in Daniel 2 and 7 is striking. V 3 cites a primary cause of the Roman king's following:

And I saw one of his heads as if it had been slain, and his fatal wound was healed. And the whole earth was amazed and followed after the beast.

Newell observes, "here then is Satan's permitted imitation of the death and resurrection of Christ!"⁴⁶ This imitation may either be a deceptive appearance of death and resurrection, or it may be an actual death and miraculous resuscitation from the dead. Pentecost argues that the resurrection of Christ is unique and that the Roman king could not have really risen from the dead.⁴⁷ Certainly, Antichrist will be unable to reproduce Christ's unique resurrection in a glorified body, but he may be able to be resuscitated to life following his mortal wound. Whether he was merely left for dead and then

⁴⁶William R. Newell, *The Book of Revelation* (Chicago: Moody, 1935) 186.

⁴⁷Pentecost, *Things to Come*, 335-36.

"miraculously" recovered, or actually died and was restored to mortal life by supernatural power, the false prophet will use this event as a sign and proof of Antichrist's right to be worshipped:

And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spoke as a dragon. And he exercises all the authority of the first beast in his presence. And he makes the earth and those that dwell in it *to worship the first beast, whose fatal wound was healed* (Rev. 13:11-12; italics added).

Some try to explain this fatal wound as an experience of a nation and not of a man, but the false prophet's message appears to relate only to a person and not to a national entity. Newell agrees: "It is a *man* that is before our eyes in Revelation 13, all through. God *says* he is a *Man* in 13:18."⁴⁸ Furthermore, Rev 13:14 implies that this fatal wound will be received in battle:

And he deceives those who dwell on the earth because of the signs which it was given him to perform in the presence of the beast, telling those who dwell on the earth to make an image to the beast *who had the wound of the sword and has come to life*.

Here it is revealed that the Roman king receives his wound from a sword (i.e., during war).

This explanation of the relationship of Dan 11:36-45 to Revelation 13 appears to have real merit. Both involve a military context. Both have the same temporal setting, the middle of the seventieth week, and both events serve to launch the worldwide career of Antichrist. No wonder the world is thereafter awed by the beast, asking, "who is able to wage war with him?" (Rev 13:4). This correspondence helps to visualize the possible content of rumors that would be powerful enough to cause the King of the North to drop his African ventures and return immediately to Palestine. It would also provide for the Roman king's continuing into Dan 12:1 and leading the way during the tremendous persecution of the Jews during the second half of the seventieth week.

"*And he will pitch the tents of his royal pavilion between the seas and the beautiful Holy Mountain.*" This verse clearly indicates the King of the North's return northeast to Palestine. He bivouacs between the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea in the vicinity of Jerusalem ("Holy Mountain").

"*Yet he will come to his end, and no one will help him.*" Little is said here apart from the revelation of the King of the North's demise. In view of the Antichrist's subsequent prominence in the

⁴⁸Newell, *The Book of Revelation*, 187.

second half of the Tribulation period, one might assume that the northern king is either destroyed by Antichrist or that Antichrist will take credit for his defeat. This defeat of the King of the North following that of the King of the South serves to prove the Roman king's power and to leave him in absolute control of the world.

d. Summary.

Paul Tan captures the essence of this attestation of Antichrist's power: "The beast is first defeated (Rev. 13:3), but the northern confederacy is supernaturally annihilated (Dan. 11:45), and the beast becomes the world ruler (Rev. 13:7)."⁴⁹ Walvoord also sees the defeat of the northern confederacy as a significant link in Antichrist's path to world rule:

With the northern kingdom destroyed there is no major political force standing in the way of the Roman Empire, and the world empire is achieved by proclamation. The apparent invincibility of the Roman ruler, supported as he is by Satanic power, is intimated in the question of Revelation 13:4, "Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him?"⁵⁰

Persecution of the saints: 12:1a

"Now at that time Michael, the great prince who stands guard over the sons of your people, will arise. And there will be a time of distress such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time." At that time, the time of the demise of the King of the North, the worst persecution of all time against the Jews will break out. It will be the time of Jacob's trouble (Jer 30:7) and two-thirds of the Jews will perish (Zech 13:8-9). The Lord Jesus warned that when they saw the abomination of desolations spoken of by Daniel, they should flee from Judea to the mountains (Matt 24:15, 16), "for then there will be a great tribulation, such as has not occurred since the beginning of the world until now, nor ever shall" (Matt 24:21).

It must be granted that 12:1 does not *say* that the Roman king takes the lead in this climactic persecution of Israel. But Scripture does say this explicitly elsewhere. Revelation fills in some of the details not provided by Daniel at this point:

And there was given to him a mouth speaking arrogant words and blasphemies; and authority to act for forty-two months was given to him. And he opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, to blaspheme His name and His tabernacle, that is, those who dwell in

⁴⁹Paul Lee Tan, *The Interpretation of Prophecy* (Winona Lake: BMH, 1974) 347.

⁵⁰John F. Walvoord, *The Nations in Prophecy* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1967) 94.

heaven. And it was given to him *to make war with the saints and to overcome them*; and authority over every tribe and people and tongue and nation was given to him (Rev. 13:5-7; italics added).

In light of later revelation, one can now say that this final persecution begins at the mid-point of the seventieth week, and thus the events of 11:36-45 also must be viewed as taking place "at that time."

Thus, the stage is set for the arrival of Messiah to put down the pagan Gentile powers and to establish his kingdom. While 12:1b-3 does not *say* that this is the work of Messiah, later revelation also makes it plain that it will be Christ who rescues Israel (12:1), who will resurrect the dead (12:2), and who will reward the righteous (12:3). Consequently, this brings the argument of the book to a climax. The Gentile nations dominating Israel, beginning with Babylon, would not soon end. Persia, Greece, and Roman would follow. But at the appointed time in history's darkest hour, Messiah will come and reign forever. God rules.

CONCLUSION

This study has not been concerned with proving every detail of interpretation concerning Dan 11:36-45. A number of the phrases are sufficiently ambiguous to allow various "possible" interpretations. The core of the study has been examining and seeking to answer four crucial questions.

What is the temporal setting of this passage? It is eschatological, and more specifically, the mid-point of the seventieth week of Daniel. What is the identity of the "wilful king?" He is the Antichrist of the end time, the "man of sin" spoken of by Paul, and the "beast out of the sea" of John. Who is the King of the North? He is the head of a great power north of Israel which has wide geographical range and of world political stature, probably the USSR. Who is the "attacker" in 11:40-45? It is the King of the North and not the Antichrist.

The commentary then dealt with the particulars of this passage and demonstrated that they may be best understood in the interpretive framework established by the answers to the four crucial questions. Not only does this view account for a smooth interpretation of the passage itself, but it augments the argument of the book of Daniel and integrates it with other prophetic truth.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY TO THE SPREAD OF POPULAR RELIGION

SAMUEL J. ROGAL

For nearly sixty years, John and Charles Wesley attempted to loosen the rigidity of England's state religion by laboring on behalf of primitive Christianity and practical church reform. For John Wesley, the success of Methodism in England and America depended upon organization—a structure built upon power, spirit, doctrine, and discipline. His brother Charles, in turn, furnished the poetic vehicles upon which to explicate the spiritual revival of the middle and late 18th century: the simple diction and imagery, lucid construction, resonant lines, and clear metaphor that could easily be understood by a large number of people representing all ranks and levels of eighteenth-century social and cultural life. Together, the Wesleys prepared their followers and their ideological progeny for the social, economic, political, and theological rejuvenations that would come in the following century.

* * *

ONE way to understand the contributions of Wesleyan Methodism to the spread of popular religion in England during the 17th and 18th centuries is to recognize the inability of the Church of England to consider the value (to both church and state) of change and reform. Several of the problems leading to the loss of Charles Stuart's head in 1649 had not been solved to the satisfaction of all persons and parties by the beginning of the American Revolution. Indeed, John Milton complained in 1637 that

The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;

Besides what the grim Wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said.¹

His remark served to turn the attention of at least one Hanoverian Anglican, John Wesley, to the specific needs of certain among his flock.

In mid-spring 1779, Gilbert White (1720–1793)—the curate of Selborne, Hampshire—saw fit to record a remarkable observation:

A cock *flamingo* weighs, at an average, about four pounds . . . and his legs and thighs measure usually about twenty inches. But four pounds are fifteen times and a fraction more than four ounces, and one quarter; and if four ounces and a quarter have eight inches of legs, four pounds must have one hundred and twenty inches and a fraction of legs²

The example reveals that although White was ordained as an agent of God and as an officer of the Church of England to minister to man, he chose instead to devote considerable of his time to the more fascinating creatures of natural history.

However, the curate of Selborne stood cassock to mantle with a large number of his colleagues who had difficulty filling the void between one communion and the next and between those rare occasions that seemed to demand original and thought-provoking sermons. Bishop Richard Hurd found satisfaction pursuing the principles of literary criticism, philosophy, chivalry, romance, and the texts of Horace, Addison, and William Warburton. Laurence Sterne, although first a vicar of Sutton on the Forest, then of Stillington, and in between a prebendary of York, realized greater intellectual profit from his fictional chicanery than from any meaningful pulpit exercise. Bishop Joseph Butler held enough ecclesiastical offices to last several lifetimes, but his immediate concerns inclined toward abstract matters of ethics and morality which effectively served to insulate him from the mundane problems of human suffering. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, although once disturbed by the social corruption and disorder brought about before and after the South Sea Bubble, managed to ease his distress upon the winds of such intellectual designs as a college in Bermuda for the Christian civilization of America, the religious interpretation of nature, books for American colleges, and philosophical reflection on the virtues of tar water.

¹*Lycidas*, lines 125–29 in Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose* (New York: Odyssey, 1957) 123–24.

²Gilbert White, "The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne," in *A Collection of English Prose, 1660–1800*, ed. Henry Pettit (New York: Harper and Row, 1962) 583.

The list may be expanded to include a corps of second-line churchmen with similar interests. Richard Burn, for fifty years the vicar of Orton, was more concerned with the nuances of ecclesiastical and civil law than for the rights and privileges of his parishioners. Stephen Hales, the perpetual curate of Teddington, advocated ventilation, distillation of sea water, meat preservation, and vegetable physiology. William Stukeley, who took orders at age forty-one and became a London rector at age sixty, never allowed either act to interfere with his erratic speculations in archaeology and antiquity. Jethro Tull, the cleric-farmer of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, was obviously more concerned with cultivating his parishioners' fields than their minds or souls and proved to be one of the notable agricultural innovators of the age.

What emerges even from this short list of sensational examples is the image of a church suffocating from the fumes of its own social apathy. While the lesser clerics rummaged through their studies and laboratories, the intellectuals at the highest levels on the ecclesiastical hierarchy chanted the same theological formulae for survival in this world and for successful passage into the next. No less a figure than John Tillotson, by far the best pulpit rhetorician of the period, could easily fall victim of his own cant. "There is a certain kind of temper and disposition," he announced to William and Mary in October 1692 on the occasion of the British naval victory at La Hogue the preceding May, "which is necessary and essential to happiness, and that is holiness and goodness, which the very nature of God; and so far as any man departs from this temper, so far he removes himself and runs away from happiness."³ Such an oversimplistic appraisal of mankind's chances for spiritual survival held, according to J. H. Plumb, little "appeal to the men and women living brutal and squalid lives in the disease-ridden slums of the new towns and mining villages. They needed revelation and salvation."⁴ For more than half of the eighteenth century, the Wesleys's missionary labors, seasoned heavily with their own prose and poetry, would unsettle the dust that had been gathering upon the stiff facade of England's state religion by eagerly dispensing primitive Christianity and practical church reform.

An assessment of John and Charles Wesley's contribution to the spread of popular religion begins with the broadest possible view of British Methodism. A host of organizational innovations took hold in

³ John Tillotson, "Sermon XLI. A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Late Victory at Sea," in *English Prose and Poetry, 1660-1800*, ed. Odell Shephard and Paul Spencer Wood (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934) 186.

⁴ J. H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1950) 44-45.

18th-century Britain, gained momentum and maturity during the early days of the 19th-century evangelical revival, and proved, toward the end of Victoria's reign, the very means by which Methodism launched itself into the highest echelons of world Protestantism. Wesleyan Methodism survived the 18th century because its founder and leader, John Wesley, understood the value of organization—into bands, classes, societies, and circuits. And he realized that in order for a theological organization to succeed, it had to reach out to the people and satisfy the human condition before it could even pretend to cope with matters of the heart and spirit. Thus, John Wesley established a lending society to circumvent the English usury laws. He organized a medical clinic at Bristol, wrote a practical treatise on how to attain and maintain good health, and dispensed electricity for medical purposes. He distributed books for intellectual, political, and theological motives; he even functioned as the editor, the critic, the moral censor of his followers' literary habits. When the number of ordained ministers sympathetic to Methodism proved insufficient for the societies' needs, he trained lay preachers—both men and women—and even provided a school outside Bristol to educate their children. Behind him came the poet laureate of Methodism, his younger brother Charles, perhaps the progenitor of English Protestant hymnody, scattering sacred songs (almost nine thousand of them) into the neat furrows plowed by the elder Wesley's sharp instruments of regularity and cultivated by his own natural inclination to reduce the complexities of human misery and misfortune to simple solutions.

For John Wesley, the terms *power*, *spirit*, *doctrine*, and *discipline* became synonymous with organization. In 1786 he wrote:

I am not afraid that the people called Methodists should ever cease to exist either in Europe or America. But I am afraid, lest they should only exist as a dead sect, having the form of religion without the power. And this undoubtedly will be the case, unless they hold fast . . . the doctrine, spirit, and discipline with which they first set out.⁵

For Methodism to take hold firmly among the people and to have a lasting effect upon the Church of England, it had to function as an organization. It simply could not achieve an end as an informal group, a noisy crowd, or a destructive mob. Furthermore, if the organization were to have meaning, it had to formulate and publicize its doctrine and its rules, it had to record its history and its principles, it had to enunciate its positions on various social, political, theological, and practical issues, and it had to report the actions of its leaders and the discussions on present and future positions.

⁵"Thoughts upon Methodism," in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, ed. Thomas Jackson (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1829–1831), XIII. 258.

Out of the need for publicity, and especially the need to spread the evangelical message to as many people as possible, a considerable quantity of poetry and prose arose which was related directly to the organization which was known, unofficially but popularly, as Wesleyan Methodism. Almost immediately after the formation of the earliest societies in Bristol and London, John and Charles Wesley sensed that doctrinal alternatives and emotional appeal would not be enough to gain and keep converts. The masses needed to be molded into workable groups—bands and classes; they required constant supervision, leadership, and discipline—stewards and lay preachers; they needed advice in almost every aspect of the new venture that would eventually spread primitive Christianity throughout England and beyond. All of that, and more, John Wesley supplied: he explained, he exhorted, he provided variations on similar themes, he spelled out his demands—much in the same manner as the apostles Paul and John had spelled out theirs. To Methodists scattered all over Great Britain, the highways to repentance and salvation were clearly paved with the literature of their founder and leader.

The formal unveiling of eighteenth-century British Methodism occurred in London on Sunday, 11 November 1739, when John Wesley preached the first sermon at the newly acquired King's Foundry, Windmill Street, Moorfields. By far the most significant event of the Methodists' tenure in that reclaimed armory occurred during 25–29 June 1744 at the convening of the first annual Conference. Wesley instituted those conferences not for the purpose of listening to endless debate on vague theological issues, but to solidify basic doctrine and to establish administrative procedure. Those in attendance were preachers whom John Wesley specifically invited. He not only determined who would and who would not participate, but the decisions on substance and form were his alone. In fact, only John Wesley could convene a Methodist conference. The meetings themselves were structured on a question-answer format and became known as *conversations*. Again, Wesley's authority prevailed: he answered the questions and set down the resolutions to problems.

The conversations—because they concerned issues of authority, administration, and discipline—were published in various series, of which two may be considered here: *Minutes of Some Late Conversations between the Revd. Mr. Wesleys and Others* (1749) and *Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others* (1789).⁶ The first series, known as the "Doctrinal Minutes," summarized the conversations at the English conferences from 1744

⁶Since Charles Wesley had died in March 1788, this was the first edition that did not include a reference to his name in the title. Further, the 1789 volume—the sixth edition—was the last *Minutes* published during John Wesley's lifetime.

through 1747. The Wesleys, in company with four of their preachers, proposed to consider "1. What to teach; 2. How to teach; and 3. What to do; that is, how to regulate our doctrine, discipline, and practice."⁷ With regard to doctrine, they confronted such subjects as *justification*—"To be pardoned and received into God's favour"; *faith*—"a divine, supernatural . . . of things not seen. . . . It is a spiritual sight of God and the things of God"; *sanctification*—"To be renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness."⁸ The Conference of 1744 came to an end with a strong statement of affirmation in the Church of England: "We are persuaded the body of our hearers will even after our death remain in the Church, unless they be thrust out."⁹ Had the group been able to look ahead fifty years, its members would have found themselves to have been poor prophets indeed.

The Conference of August 1745 at Bristol reviewed the substance of the preceding session and again attacked the issues of justification and sanctification, whereas the conversations of the next years include such definitions as *sincerity*—"Willingness to know and to do the whole will of God." Of greater interest, in 1746, was the question, "Wherein does our doctrine differ from that we preached when at Oxford?" The answer came back, "Chiefly in these two points. (1.) We knew nothing of that righteousness of faith, in justification; nor, (2.) Of the nature of faith itself, as implying consciousness of pardon." Drawing heavily upon NT evidence, the conversations of 16–17 June 1747 at the Foundery take up the question of differences between Methodist and Dissenting doctrines, specifically in the areas of justification and sanctification. "What, then," reads the key question, "is the point wherein we divide?" The answer again comes forth in very positive and assertive terms: "It is this: Whether we should expect to be saved from all sin before the article of death."¹⁰

The attempt to formalize Methodism and spread it out among the general public becomes even more obvious in the "Large Minutes" of 1789 which contain over seventy questions on discipline. Unlike the "Doctrinal Minutes" which are concerned with complex and often abstract theological problems, the *Minutes* of 1789 focus upon organizational and historical questions such as: "What was the rise of Methodism, so called?"; "Is field-preaching unlawful?"; "How may the leaders of the classes be made more useful?"; "Can anything further be done, in order to make the meetings of the classes lively and profitable?"¹¹ More importantly, there was the very serious

⁷"Minutes of Some Late Conversations," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 275.

⁸"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 275, 276, 279.

⁹"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 281.

¹⁰"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 288, 290, 294.

¹¹"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 300–301.

problem of reaching down to those levels of British society that had been neglected by organized religion:

Indeed, you will find it no easy matter to teach the ignorant the principles of religion. So true is the remark of Archbishop [Henry] Usher: "Great scholars may think this work beneath them. But they should consider, the laying of the foundation skilfully, as it is of the greatest importance, so it is the masterpiece of the wisest builder. And let the wisest of us all try, whenever we please, we shall find, that to lay this groundwork rightly, to make the ignorant understand the grounds of religion, will put us to the trial of all our skill."¹²

Wesley added to Usher's advice by urging his own preachers to visit the homes of the so-called ignorant, to talk with each family member individually, and to pay particular attention to the children.

At one point, the 1789 *Minutes* become almost a general "how-to-do-it-manual" to assist Methodist preachers in dealing with simple problems among common people. In response to a question on how to remedy "Sabbath-breaking, dram-drinking, evil-speaking, unprofitable conversation, lightness, expensiveness or gaiety of apparel, and contracting debts without due care to discharge them," Wesley directs the interrogator to his various "Words" and "Advices," a series of essays that focuses on each of these issues. Other points concerning the office of preacher have to do with defining that office, identifying the functions of minister's helper and band leader, and spelling out the specific rules by which all leaders are governed: "A Methodist preacher," announced Wesley, for the benefit of those whom he had enlisted and those who planned to join his ranks, "is to mind every point, great and small, in the Methodist discipline! Therefore you will need all the sense you have, and to have all your wits about you!"¹³

Naturally, there would rise challenges to John Wesley—questions directed to his leadership as well as to his doctrine. However, he seemed to have anticipated those; his responses, as they appear in the 1789 *Minutes*, are direct statements that reveal the extent of his authority. Thus, his responsibility, as leader of the British Methodists, is

... a power of admitting into, and excluding from, the societies under my care; of choosing and removing Stewards; or receiving or not receiving Helpers; of appointing them when, where, and how to help me; and of desiring any of them to confer with me when I see good. And it was merely in obedience to the providence of God, and for the good of the people, that I first accepted this power, which I never

¹²"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 305.

¹³"Minutes," in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 308, 310.

sought; so it is on the same consideration, not for profit, honour, or pleasure, that I use it at this day.¹⁴

The problems stemmed from Wesley's critics, both in and outside of Methodism, who saw his authority as a violation upon their religious and civil freedoms—the very freedoms that British Methodism sought to restore and to defend. “It is nonsense,” exclaimed an irritated John Wesley, “. . . to call my using this power, ‘shackling free-born Englishmen.’ None needs to submit to it unless he will; so that there is no shackling in the case. Every Preacher and every member may leave me when he pleases. But while he chooses to stay, it is on the same terms that he joined me at first.”¹⁵

The subjects of the various *Minutes* consider a wide range of what could be termed “popular religion”: preaching, singing, reading, admission of preachers, provision for preachers' widows, circuits, schools, rules, finances, Calvinism, Anglicanism. The tone of those documents is forceful, with the answers set down in crisp, factual commands. But John Wesley, no matter what the context, always found the time to exhort his preachers and his immediate followers, to transfuse the exhaust from his highly propelled confidence: “Now promote, as far as in you lies, one of the noblest charities in the world. Now forward, as you are able, one of the most excellent designs that ever set down in this kingdom.”¹⁶ Interestingly, the various *Minutes* were published and distributed throughout the societies; thus, as part of the scheme to take advantage of every possibility to reach the largest audience, Wesley managed to transform a basically cold, businesslike document into another of his strictly human explications of British Methodism.

Charles proved to be no less an able or willing explicator of the movement as he pursued his attempts to tune the vocal cords of Methodism to the spiritual revival of the 18th century. Not every one of his poems evidences the same degree of quality, but when viewed in the general light of congregational hymnody, the entire canon does convey the intensity of the poet's deep, personal religious feeling. Few subjects escaped Charles Wesley's notice: his own religious conversion and marriage; domestic upheavals from panics, earthquakes, religious riots, and rumors of foreign invasion; festivals of the Church of England and doctrines of the faith; scenes from and paraphrases of the Testaments; deaths of friends; the education of children; and the effects of local surroundings upon inhabitants of remote areas. Charles Wesley could easily capture

¹⁴“Minutes,” in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 312.

¹⁵“Minutes,” in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 313.

¹⁶“Minutes,” in *Works*, ed. Jackson, VIII. 334.

those subjects, experiences, and occasions for congregational worship because he could easily maneuver the instruments necessary to shape the popular English hymn; simple diction, lucid construction, resonant lines, emphasis upon and repetition of plain Gospel truth, and poetic images that could be understood by a large number of people representing all ranks and levels of 18th-century British society. As was the case with his older brother, Charles Wesley spent little time contemplating and transmitting abstract themes. Instead, he articulated the language of the personal and the concrete to reflect the experiences of thousands of believers and at least an equal number of those who struggled to believe. Observe, as one representative example of Charles Wesley's purpose and method, his attempts to reach the hearts and the minds of young worshippers.

Throughout the 18th century, hymns written expressly for or directed to children principally served as complements to the pedagogical process rather than as parts of church liturgy. Until after mid-century, Isaac Watts' *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* (1715) led the field. Basically, the poetry of Watts, the Nonconformist minister of Stoke Newington, bypassed the solemnities of mature religious thought and emphasized instead the aspects of spiritual delight and moral profit. Although Watts wrote some excellent poetry, it accomplished little, theologically, beyond the versification of Puritan moral teaching. Notice, for instance, these lines from "Whene'er I take my walks abroad":

Not more than others I deserve,
 Yet God hath giv'n me more;
 For I have food while others starve,
 Or beg from door to door.¹⁷

Almost fifty years after the first edition of Watts' *Divine Songs*, Charles Wesley published his *Hymns for Children* (Bristol: E. Farley, 1763). Of the 105 poetic pieces, five were directed (by virtue of a section heading) to girls, while an additional twenty-five appeared under a section entitled "Hymns for the Youngest." In general, Wesley intended to continue Watts's design of communicating both the sound and the sense of the verses to the level of the juvenile mind. However, as he lost sight of that intent, a large number of the hymns actually focus upon problems reserved for the mature intellect—

How then ought I on earth to live,
 While God prolongs the kind reprieve,
 And props the house of clay!

¹⁷Isaac Watts, *Divine and Moral Songs, attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* (London: M. Lawrence, 1715) 15.

My sole concern, my single care,
 To watch, and tremble, and prepare
 Against the fatal day!
 No room for mirth or trifling here,
 For worldly hope, or worldly fear,
 If life so soon is gone;
 If now the judge is at the door,
 And all mankind must stand before
 Th' inexorable throne!¹⁸

What happened to change the direction from Watts's purpose for children's hymnody may best be determined by looking at the preface to John Wesley's revision of his brother's 1763 volume, published in late March 1790:

There are two ways of writing or speaking to children [wrote eighty-seven year-old John Wesley]: the one is, to let ourselves down to them; the other, to lift them up to us. Dr. Watts has wrote in the former way, and has succeeded admirably well, speaking to children as children, and leaving them as he found them. The following hymns are written on the other plan: they contain strong and manly sense, yet expressed in such plain and easy language as even children may understand. But when they do understand them, they will be children no longer, only in years and in stature.¹⁹

The final sentence indicates clearly, at least as concerned the elder Wesley, the relationship between hymnody and pedagogy in Methodist thought and practice.

The specifics of that relationship can be viewed also in Charles Wesley's dedicatory hymn for the opening of Kingswood School, "Come, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The poet begins by asking that "The sacred discipline be given,/To train and bring them up for Heaven." The training process itself is to be governed by the unification of knowledge and piety:

Learning and holiness combined,
 And truth and love, let all men see,
 In these, whom up to Thee we give,
 Thine, wholly Thine, to die and live.²⁰

In three other hymns—entitled, simply, "Before School," "In School," and "After School"—Charles Wesley captured the essence of his brother's concerns about the education of youth. His singers ask for

¹⁸ *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, ed. George Osborn (London: Wesleyan Methodist Conference Office, 1868–1872), VI. 432.

¹⁹ *Poetical Works*, VI. 370.

²⁰ *Poetical Works*, VI. 407–8.

“an humble, active mind,/From sloth and folly free,” trained to learn “The lessons of Thy love.” They search for useful knowledge in combination with the ability to “Live to His glory, and declare/Our heavenly Teacher’s praise.”²¹

What we view in the 1763 *Hymns for Children*, then, really turn out to be divine songs for young students. In 1715, Watts had identified his singers as little boys and little girls (even as “little bees,” in one instance); Charles Wesley, however, although not totally unconcerned about youth, does not appear restricted to those whose age identifies them as children. Childhood, for the Wesleys, focused upon that necessary vacuum between birth and maturity; the real issue was, simply,

When, dear Lord, ah! tell us when
Shall we be in knowledge men;
Men in strength and constancy,
Men of God, confirm’d in Thee?²²

Thus, the hymns for children stood as examples of what John Wesley would term *practical poetry*, verse essential in assisting the largest possible number of Methodist youth to formulate their earliest inquiries about *practical* Christianity. For John Wesley, as the Methodist leader most concerned with and responsible for the education of all Methodist children, his brother’s poetry could do no more. For Charles Wesley, those same hymns served as the initial aspects of his larger poetic scheme: the call to all the citizens of his nation and to the members of his nation’s Church to express their demand for a new and everlasting spiritual day:

Britons, arise with one accord,
And learn to glory in the Lord!
The Lord, from whom salvation came,
Doth justly all your praises claim:
With humble heart and thankful voice
Rejoice aright, to God rejoice.²³

The eventual success of Wesleyan Methodism, then, came about because John Wesley determined (following the unsettling period of his Georgia mission, his journey to Nicholas von Zinzendorf and the Moravians, and his religious conversion at Aldersgate) to give his attention to the specific theological and social issues that the Church of England had ignored for so long. After all, was he not an officer of

²¹ *Poetical Works*, VI. 421–22.

²² *Poetical Works*, VI. 403.

²³ *Poetical Works*, VI. 181.

that very Church, as well as his father and two brothers? John Wesley's grand venture grew out of the essence of Christian purpose as revealed to him in Scripture wherein men first "found it needful to join together, in order to oppose the works of darkness, to spread the knowledge of God their Saviour, and to promote His kingdom upon earth."²⁴

To accomplish that purpose, the Christian Church (or at least Wesley's concept of the earliest version of that institution) came forth to save souls, to assist Christians in working out the issues of salvation, to save persons from present and future misery, to overthrow Satan, and to establish the kingdom of Christ. Therefore, according to the founder and leader of the Methodists, the Church of England, despite the dark shadows of regal whim and princely pettiness that clouded its origin,

... united together for this very end, to oppose the devil and all his works, and to wage war against the world and the flesh, his constant and faithful allies. But do they, in fact, answer the end of their union? Are all who style themselves "Members of the Church of England," heartily engaged in opposing the works of the devil, and fighting against the world and the flesh? Alas, we cannot say this. So far from it that a great part, I fear the greater part of them, are themselves the *world*,—the people that know not God to any saving purpose; are indulging, day by day, instead of "mortifying the flesh, with its affections and desires"; and doing, themselves, those works of the devil, which they are peculiarly engaged to destroy."²⁵

To solve the problem, John Wesley committed himself to the spread of popular religion throughout England. By the time of his death on 2 March 1791, he had convinced at least 58,218 persons in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland that they could and would be saved. In the process, he had created a warm climate of theological salvation in an age dominated by cold reason. More than any other person, group, or institution in 18th-century Britain, John and Charles Wesley prepared their followers and their ideological progeny for the social, economic, and political rejuvenation of the following century.

²⁴John Wesley, *Sermons on Several Occasions*, ed. Thomas Jackson (New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1854) I. 457.

²⁵Wesley, *Sermons*, I. 458.

THE EXODUS-CONQUEST AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF TRANSJORDAN: NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD PROBLEM

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

One of the major arguments used to support a 13th-century date for the exodus-conquest is the alleged Late Bronze Age occupational gap in central and southern Transjordan. Recent archaeological investigations indicate that this gap hypothesis, which was originally advocated by Nelson Glueck, needs to be modified. Although the historical/archaeological picture is still coming into focus, it now appears that Ammon, Moab, and Edom were settled during the Late Bronze Age. The density of this occupation remains an open question. Nevertheless, it appears that the archaeological data from Late Bronze Age Transjordan have become neutral in the debate on the date of the exodus-conquest.

* * *

IN the opening pages of *Redating the Exodus and Conquest*,¹ John J. Bimson identifies two major assumptions of his study. First, he maintains that "the biblical traditions of the bondage in Egypt and of the Exodus have a firm historical basis." Second, Bimson insists that these historical events must be and can be connected to an absolute chronology.² This emphasis demonstrates that *Redating* is important reading for anyone who takes the biblical narratives and their historical/archaeological context seriously. Although many readers will have some reservations, Bimson's study is now the most comprehensive and up-to-date examination of the historical and archaeological data pertaining to the OT accounts of the exodus-conquest.

Since its publication in 1978, *Redating* has received mixed reviews.³ For example, Miller suggests that Bimson's theory of a mid-15th century exodus-conquest, which calls for the lowering of the end

¹John J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (Sheffield: Almond, 1978).

²Bimson, *Redating*, 10-13.

³See, e.g., A. G. Auld, *ExpTim* 90 (1979) 152; A. H. W. Curtis, *EvQ* 52 (1980) 54-55; H. Engel, *Bib* 61 (1980) 437-40; J. D. Martin, *SJT* 33 (1980) 183-85; E. H. Merrill, *BSac* 136 (1980) 184; J. M. Miller, *JBL* 99 (1980) 133-35; P. R. S. Moorey,

of MB IIC, is plausible, but the number of secondary explanations needed to support this daring theory neutralize its advantage over the Albrightian hypothesis for a 13th-century date. Miller says that the most significant contribution of Bimson's book is its demonstration "that those who hold to a thirteenth century exodus-conquest have no monopoly on the archaeological evidence."⁴ In other words, *Redating* re-examines an old problem from a fresh perspective and shows that the questions concerning the date of the exodus-conquest have not been resolved. Not only are there new ways of looking at old data, as Bimson proves, but there is also new evidence that must be considered. The main purpose of this article is to review the ways in which the archaeological evidence from Transjordan relates to the exodus-conquest and to present some new data that bear upon this issue.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE LATE DATE EXODUS-CONQUEST

There are four major arguments used to support the late date for the exodus-conquest: (1) the identification of Pithom and Raamses, (2) the 13th-century destruction of Palestinian towns mentioned in the conquest narratives, (3) the archaeological evidence from Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Age Transjordan, and (4) the military campaigns of Seti I and Ramses II.⁵ While Bimson refers to the first two arguments as the "main pillars" of the late date, he also regards the third and fourth points as key elements. However, all four of these arguments are still open to further deliberation. The Egyptian evidence, which forms the basis of arguments (1) and (4), is still being reworked and interpreted in different ways.⁶ And, although it is a favorite of many OT scholars, Miller recently delivered a critical blow to the second argument by showing that the "destruction layers" at certain Palestinian tells represent, at best, an ambiguous form of evidence.⁷ I focus here on the third argument, the lack of Middle

JTS 31 (1980) 111-13; W. H. Shea, *CBQ* 42 (1980) 88-90; P. Wernberg-Møller, *JJS* 31 (1980) 135; A. F. Rainey, *IEJ* 30 (1980) 249-51; J. A. Soggin, *VT* 31 (1981) 98-99; and D. M. Beagle, *TSF Bulletin* 5.5 (1982) 16-17.

⁴Miller, 133, 135.

⁵Bimson, *Redating*, 30-73; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (London: Tyndale, 1966) 57-69; C. F. Aling, *Egypt and Bible History from Earliest Times to 1000 B.C.* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981) 77-96.

⁶See, for example, Aling, *Egypt and Bible History*, 77-110; idem, "The Biblical City of Ramses," *JETS* 25 (1982) 129-37; H. Shanks, "The Exodus and the Crossing of the Red Sea, According to Hans Goedicke," *BAR* 7 (1981) 42-50, and other articles related to Goedicke's theory; B. MacDonald, "Excavations at Tell el-Maskhuta," *BA* 43 (1980) 49-58.

⁷J. M. Miller, "Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan: Some Methodological Observations," *PEQ* 109 (1977) 87-93.

Bronze and late Bronze settlements in central and southern Transjordan.

Assumptions Behind the Third Argument

The archaeological evidence from Transjordan is important in this debate because Numbers 20ff. and Judges 11 indicate that the Hebrews, while en route to the land of Canaan, were opposed by the kings of Edom and Moab and the Amorite kings to the east of the Jordan River. Therefore, archaeological evidence of occupation in their territories at the time of the conquest should be found, regardless of the date assigned to this event. Because Glueck's surface survey indicated that there was a gap in the sedentary occupation of Edom and Moab from ca. 1900 B.C. until ca. 1300 B.C. (although Glueck's dates fluctuated), the archaeological material from Transjordan seemed to support the late date. Recognizing that the reconstruction of occupational history in this region is crucial to this whole discussion, Bimson observes:

This argument for the 13th century date only holds if the following three assumptions are correct: (a) that the accounts in Num 20ff are historical, (b) that those accounts, if historical, require the existence of a sedentary population settled in permanent towns at the time of the Israelite migration, and (c) that Glueck's interpretation of the archaeological material is correct.⁸

Before proceeding to a more detailed treatment of the third assumption, including a report on some archaeological data recently recovered in Jordan, I comment on the first two suppositions mentioned by Bimson.

With regard to the first point, Bimson says that he does not doubt the "basic historicity" of Numbers 20ff. He does, however, in agreement with Bartlett, accept the possibility that certain features of these accounts could be late accretions to the earlier traditions. Many conservative scholars will not approve of such concessions, but there is nothing to fear in admitting that such a possibility exists. Indeed, when compared with the negative conclusions reached by Van Seters in his ongoing debate with Bartlett,⁹ Bimson's openness is not extreme.

Following a thorough discussion of the second assumption listed above, Bimson concludes that the OT does not demand that the

⁸Bimson, *Redating*, 61, 62.

⁹J. R. Bartlett, "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites," *VT* 20 (1970) 257-77; J. Van Seters, "The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Examination," *JBL* 91 (1972) 182-97; J. R. Bartlett, "The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Re-examination," *JBL* 97 (1978) 347-51; J. Van Seters, "Once Again—The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom," *JBL* 99 (1980) 117-19.

Transjordanian opponents encountered by the Hebrews were part of an urbanized sedentary population. In agreement with the earlier studies of de Vaux and Rea, Bimson suggests that "it is therefore possible that the kings we read of in Num 20ff were chieftains of semi-nomadic groups who refused to let another nomadic group, the Israelites, pass through their areas of pasturage."¹⁰ This conclusion is plausible, especially if we follow Wenham's theory which calls for a significant reduction in the Hebrew population and its fighting force.¹¹ Otherwise, it would have taken sizeable armies, perhaps from organized kingdoms, to restrict the movement of such a large number of Hebrews.

GLUECK'S SURVEY OF TRANSJORDAN

In the Glueck festschrift, Wright provides a valuable assessment of Glueck's exploration of Transjordan:

Glueck was not the first man by any means who had searched these lands, but he was the first to do as complete a survey as possible with a small budget and few helpers, and he was the first to use the pottery-dating tool as a basic scientific aid. Between 1932 and 1947, he spent nearly all his exploration time in Transjordan and in the Jordan-Dead Sea rift as far south as the Gulf of Aqabah. . . . Most of Glueck's work in Transjordan had to be on foot or on horseback. Refusing elaborate equipment, the explorer lived for days at a time as a Bedu, drinking what water was available from any source, living as a guest of the bedouin, and so well known and trusted that he was always protected, needed no foreign guards, and was never harmed.¹²

Having worked for two summers on an archaeological survey in the region of ancient Moab, I have great respect for Glueck, and it seems wise (indeed, necessary!) to preface a critique of Glueck with an acknowledgment of his remarkable accomplishments.

As several scholars have already suggested and as the recent Moab Survey clearly demonstrates, Glueck's surface exploration of Transjordan is seriously in need of updating.¹³ This does not mean,

¹⁰Bimson, *Redating*, 63; cf. R. de Vaux, "La Palestine et la Transjordanie au II^e millénaire et les origines israélites," *ZAW* 56 (1938) 225-38; J. Rea, "New Light on the Wilderness Journey and Conquest," *GJ* 2 (1961) 5-13.

¹¹J. W. Wenham, "Large Numbers in the Old Testament," *TynBul* 18 (1967) 19-53.

¹²G. E. Wright, "The Phenomenon of American Archaeology in the Near East," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. J. A. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970) 29, 30.

¹³For further discussion of the weaknesses in Glueck's archaeological survey, see G. L. Mattingly, "A Reconstruction of Early Bronze Age Cultural Patterns in Central

however, that Glueck's work should be jettisoned in toto. Glueck's four-volume *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* (1934, 1935, 1939, 1951) and *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1940; 2nd ed., 1970) serve as benchmarks in the history of research on ancient Transjordan. Glueck's publications also provide valuable information on the condition of Moab's archaeological sites in the 1930s, and his reports illuminate the nature and rate of the present-day resettlement of the plateau. These factors alone justify the continued use of Glueck's works as the starting point for all future archaeological investigations in Transjordan. Thus, although Glueck's volumes cannot be regarded as conclusive, any attempt to disparage Glueck's intentions or abilities must be accompanied by words of praise for his herculean achievement.¹⁴

Glueck's "Gap Hypothesis"

In his first major report on the survey of Transjordan (which focused primarily on Moab), Glueck set forth five conclusions. The first three read, in part, as follows:

1. There was a strong Bronze Age civilization in ancient Moab between the twenty-third and the eighteenth centuries B.C., when it completely disappeared.
2. Between the eighteenth and the thirteenth centuries B.C. there is an almost complete gap in the history of settled communities in the region visited.
3. There was a highly developed Moabite civilization, which seems to have flourished especially between the middle of the thirteenth and end of the ninth centuries B.C.¹⁵

Similar conclusions were reiterated in Glueck's subsequent reports on this region, although several modifications are apparent in the later publications. Glueck's second statement has probably attracted more attention than all the others. Although the second conclusion is directly related to the first and third statements, the Middle and Late Bronze occupational gap is at the heart of the argument over the date of the exodus-conquest. Since this is the focal point of this article, Glueck's 1934 statement, which constitutes his original gap hypothesis, is quoted in entirety:

Moab" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980) 74, 75.

¹⁴For discussion of Glueck's contribution to archaeology, see Mattingly, "Reconstruction," 242, 243.

¹⁵N. Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine I," *AASOR* 14 (1934) 81-83.

Between the eighteenth and the thirteenth centuries B.C. there is an almost complete gap in the history of settled communities in the region visited. With the exception of Jalul and of el-Misna^c and el-Medeiyineh above Lejjun, at both of which last two mentioned places a few scraps of Middle Bronze II pottery were found, not a single site was found with pottery remains between the end of Middle Bronze I and the beginning of Early Iron I. The Egyptian lists of towns and the Tell el-Amarna tablets are silent with regard to this period in Eastern Palestine. Moab is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Ramses II.¹⁶

In spite of the exceptional sites that yielded "a few scraps of Middle Bronze II pottery," Glueck restated his hypothesis in the first edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan*:

There was at about \pm 1900 B.C. such a thoroughgoing destruction visited upon all the great fortresses and settlements of the land, within the limits we have examined, that the particular civilization they represented never again recovered. The blow it received was so crushing as to be utterly destructive. Its cities were never rebuilt, and much of Transjordan became the camping ground of tent dwellers, who used for containers perishable skins and not enduring pottery. Permanent villages and fortresses were no longer to rise upon the face of the earth in this region till the beginning of the Iron Age.¹⁷

In this same volume Glueck used the term "Bedouins" to explain his gap: "The Semites who took possession of Transjordan at the very end of the 14th or the beginning of the 13th century B.C., probably partly absorbed and partly drove out the Bedouins who since about 1900 B.C. had been the masters of the land."¹⁸

Glueck held firmly to his original gap hypothesis right up to a well-known 1967 essay on Transjordan,¹⁹ even though evidence was accumulating that seemed to challenge his position. There were two reasons for Glueck's tenacity. First, he viewed the few sites that had Middle Bronze or Late Bronze sherds as "exceptions" to the rule. Glueck even allowed for the possibility that additional sites might be found in Moab, especially since he recognized that there were gaps in his survey. On the other hand, Glueck's discussion of such omissions concludes with this comment: "On the whole, however, the writer is confident that not very many ancient sites in Edom and Moab, whose

¹⁶Glueck, "Explorations, I," 82. The literary evidence that relates to this issue will be examined in a separate article.

¹⁷N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940) 114.

¹⁸Glueck, *Other Side*, 127.

¹⁹N. Glueck, "Transjordan," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. W. Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 443-45.

ruins have not been completely obliterated, remain undiscovered."²⁰ In light of the hundreds of new sites that have been discovered in Moab alone, this was an amazing claim.

Second, Glueck was convinced that the literary tradition of Genesis 14 (the invasion of Transjordan by the eastern kings) would be reflected in "archaeological facts."²¹ Thus, Glueck's certainty about an occupational gap in Transjordan was intimately linked to his convictions about the historical trustworthiness of the Bible.²²

Along with his other famous hypotheses (i.e., the "King's Highway" and Solomon's "smelting and refining plant" at Ezion-geber), Glueck's theory of a Middle and Late Bronze Age occupational gap in central and southern Transjordan was accepted by historians and archaeologists until recently. Without attempting to provide an exhaustive list of the countless scholars who were influenced by Glueck on this point, perhaps McGovern's observation is sufficient: "In one form or another, Glueck's theory found its way into most of the standard biblical and archaeological handbooks."²³

General Criticisms of Glueck's Survey Methodology

Although the general reliability of much of Glueck's work has stood the test of time, various kinds of errors are now known to have entered into his analyses of the ceramic evidence from Transjordan. As a result, his interpretation of the history of this region, which was based largely on the pottery data, has also become suspect. Specifically, the gap hypothesis has been challenged at four levels.

First, it is now known that surface survey, by its very nature, does not recover all the data at any site. Although the value of archaeological reconnaissance has been adequately demonstrated,²⁴ any historical reconstruction that is heavily dependent on survey data must be viewed as partial and tentative. The pottery collected from the surface of a site *may* be representative of the site's accumulated debris, but the surface of an archaeological site is not always a

²⁰N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine III* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939) xxiii.

²¹Glueck, *Other Side*, 114.

²²See G. E. Wright, "Is Glueck's Aim to Prove that the Bible Is True?" *BA* 22 (1959) 101-8.

²³P. E. McGovern, "Exploring the Burial Caves of the Baq'ah Valley in Jordan," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 47.

²⁴See, for example, R. J. Ruppe, "The Archaeological Survey: A Defense," *American Antiquity* 31 (1966) 313-33; R. McC. Adams, "The Study of Ancient Mesopotamian Settlement Patterns and the Problem of Urban Origins," *Sumer* 25 (1969) 111-24; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) 91-93.

microcosm of its subsurface contents. The distribution of sherds over the surface of a site is dependent upon too many natural and cultural variables to provide anything but a rough estimate of the site's actual contents.

Second, it is now recognized that Glueck's survey was superficial. Quite simply, Glueck overlooked *hundreds* of archaeological sites in his survey of Transjordan. Again, this is not intended to minimize Glueck's accomplishment, but it is clear that his superficial treatment of the regions involved skewed some of his conclusions. If failure to recover sherds from a particular period at any one site is detrimental to the interpretive process, the omission of a number of important sites in a region can be disastrous.

Third, Glueck's results have been challenged because some scholars believe that his knowledge of ceramics was wholly inadequate for the task to which he applied himself. After a word of praise for Glueck's *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, Franken and Power make these criticisms:

It is now, however, becoming increasingly clear that the other part of Glueck's work, that is to say the pottery study, and the conclusions drawn from that study are in many ways both defective and misleading. There are two reasons for making these judgments. In the first instance his work is defective because Glueck assumed that the culture of Iron Age Transjordan was so similar to that of Palestine that the pottery of Transjordan could be compared with and chronologically tied into the known Palestinian repertoire. And in the second instance the work is misleading because Glueck published only those shapes that were familiar to him even in cases where he picked up unknown shapes in the areas immediately adjacent to Palestine, i.e. in the eastern Ghor and in Ammon. Those shapes that he did not recognize he omitted from publication, which is a curious procedure, for a survey of a largely unknown area ought to reveal and indeed to stress the new and the unknown rather than to emphasize the known. But apparently Glueck did not anticipate a differing Transjordanian cultural development.²⁵

In order to show that these criticisms are related to Glueck's gap hypothesis, Franken and Power continue by saying that

it is clear that Glueck assumed that he would have recognized Transjordanian Middle Bronze IIB, IIC, and Late Bronze shapes had he found them. From what has already been said it is no longer clear that this assumption can be accepted without question. . . . Theoretically it

²⁵H. J. Franken and W. J. A. Power, "Glueck's *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* in the light of recent evidence," *VT* 21 (1971) 119.

is now quite possible that what Glueck called early Iron Age is in part fourteenth century B.C. Transjordanian pottery.²⁶

Furthermore, the pottery typology of Albright, upon whose work Glueck's pottery analyses were based, has been refined in recent years, and the future will bring a better understanding of the development of ancient Transjordan's ceramic tradition. Indeed, many of the changes that Glueck made in the second edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan* were based upon his more up-to-date knowledge of Transjordanian pottery.

Fourth, Glueck's work has been criticized because some scholars believe that his survey of Transjordan was influenced by his religious convictions. In other words, Glueck is accused of attempting to "fit" his survey results into his preconceived assumptions about a historically trustworthy Bible. For example, Franken wonders whether "a biblical date for Chedorlaomer or an archaeological date for the end of M.B. I civilization" came first.²⁷ Franken makes many other caustic remarks in his attempt to discredit Glueck's reconstruction of Transjordan's history because it "is based on biblical data."²⁸ Although these criticisms of Glueck's methodology and motives deserve further consideration, I move on to a summary of the archaeological evidence that relates to the gap theory.

A SUMMARY OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AND LATE BRONZE EVIDENCE FROM CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN TRANSJORDAN

Ever since Glueck's gap hypothesis became popular, archaeologists and historians have eagerly reported any discovery that held promise of disproving Glueck's theory. Occasionally, this enthusiasm caused scholars to force the evidence to say more than is warranted. In an attempt to provide a sober evaluation of Glueck's position, I list the places where Middle and Late Bronze data have been recovered in central and southern Transjordan and comment on the nature of this material. I do not claim that the list of sites or the accompanying bibliographical references are exhaustive, but the major reported finds from the period and region in question are mentioned.

General discussions of the archaeological data that are thought to fill in Glueck's hypothetical gap can be found in Harding,²⁹

²⁶Franken and Power, "Glueck's *Explorations*," 122, 123.

²⁷H. J. Franken, "The Other Side of the Jordan," *ADAJ* 15 (1970) 8.

²⁸Franken, "Other Side," 7.

²⁹G. L. Harding, "Recent Discoveries in Jordan," *PEQ* 90 (1958) 10-12; idem, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (rev. ed.; New York: Praeger, 1967) 32-34, 63.

Dornemann,³⁰ Ward,³¹ Sapin,³² and Bimson.³³ Today, most of the objections to Glueck's historical reconstruction are based upon the Middle and Late Bronze finds from ^cAmman,³⁴ Tell Safut,³⁵ Sahab,³⁶ Na^cur,³⁷ Madeba,³⁸ Khirbet el-Mekhayyat,³⁹ and Qla^c et-Twal.⁴⁰ More recently recovered artifacts from the Hesban region⁴¹ and the Baq^cah

³⁰R. H. Dornemann, "The Cultural and Archaeological History of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Age" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970); see especially pp. 39–63. A revised edition of Dornemann's study will be published in the near future.

³¹W. A. Ward, "The Shasu 'Bedouin': Notes on a Recent Publication," *JESHO* 15 (1972) 54, 55.

³²J. Sapin, "25 ans d'Archéologie en Syrie-Palestine (1946–1971): Recherches et Perspectives (seconde partie)," *ETR* 49 (1974) 558–65.

³³Bimson, *Redating*, 61–68.

³⁴On the Amman citadel, see F. Zayadine, "Recent Excavations on the Citadel of Amman," *ADAJ* 18 (1973) 19, 20; C.-M. Bennett, "Excavations at the Citadel (Al Qal'at) Amman 1967," *ADAJ* 23 (1979) 159. On tombs in the Amman area, see G. L. Harding and B. S. J. Isserlin, "A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at Amman," *PEFA* 6 (1953) 14–22; R. W. Dajani, "Jabal Nuzha Tomb at Amman," *ADAJ* 11 (1966) 48–52; W. A. Ward, "Scarabs, Seals and Cylinders from Two Tombs in Amman," *ADAJ* 11 (1966) 5–18. On the so-called Amman Airport Temple, see W. A. Ward, "Cylinders & Scarabs from a Late Bronze Temple at Amman," *ADAJ* 8–9 (1964) 47–55; G. R. H. Wright, "The Bronze Age Temple at Amman," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 350–57; J. B. Hennessy, "Excavation of a Bronze Age Temple at Amman," *PEQ* 98 (1966) 152–62; idem, "Supplementary Note," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 357–59; V. Hankey, "A Late Bronze Age Temple at Amman," *Levant* 6 (1974) 131–78; L. G. Herr, "The Amman Airport Excavations," *ADAJ* 21 (1976) 109–12; see Herr's "The Amman Airport Excavations, 1976," forthcoming in *AASOR*.

³⁵Most attention is given to an alleged Middle Bronze Age glacis at Tell Safut; see F. S. Ma'ayeh, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan," *ADAJ* 4–5 (1960) 115. Recent salvage excavations should lead to additional reports on this site and clarification of the function and date of this installation.

³⁶See R. W. Dajani, "A Late Bronze-Iron Age Tomb Excavated at Sahab, 1968," *ADAJ* 15 (1970) 29–34; S. H. Horn, "Three Seals from Sahab Tomb 'C'," *ADAJ* 16 (1971) 103–6; M. M. Ibrahim, "Archaeological Excavations at Sahab, 1972," *ADAJ* 17 (1972) 23–36; idem, "Second Season of Excavation at Sahab, 1973," *ADAJ* 19 (1974) 55–62.

³⁷Reference is made to the Middle Bronze Age tomb objects from Na^cur, but I have not located the primary source on this material; cf. Harding, *Antiquities*, 32, 33.

³⁸See G. L. Harding, "An Early Iron Age Tomb at Madeba," *PEFA* 6 (1953) 27–33; M. Avi-Yonah, "Medeba," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, III*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Massada Press, 1977) 820.

³⁹See S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1949) 24–29.

⁴⁰See W. A. Ward, "A Possible New Link between Egypt and Jordan during the Reign of Amenhotep III," *ADAJ* 18 (1973) 45, 46.

⁴¹See especially S. D. Waterhouse and R. Ibach, Jr., "The Topographical Survey," *AUSS* 13 (1975) 217–33; R. Ibach, Jr., "Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region," *AUSS* 14 (1976) 119–26; idem, "Expanded Archaeological Survey of the Hesban

Valley⁴² will undoubtedly enter into future discussions of central Transjordan's Bronze Age remains. The archaeological data from the sites mentioned above are primarily surface sherds and tomb deposits (some of the latter are quite rich), but there is some stratified material and a small amount of architectural evidence. The outstanding example of the latter is the so-called "Amman Airport Temple," a substantial LB II structure that contained a wealth of imported Mycenaean, Cypriot, and Egyptian pottery and other objects.⁴³

In addition to the sites already mentioned, significant results were obtained from two archaeological surveys that were completed in 1982. The 1979, 1981, and 1982 seasons of the "Wadi el-Hasa Survey," which investigated a small portion of biblical Edom, witnessed the recovery of surface remains from over 1,000 sites, only a handful of which yielded any sherds from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.⁴⁴ Much work still needs to be done in the territory to the south of Wadi Hesa, the boundary between ancient Moab and Edom.

The 1978, 1979, and 1982 seasons of Emory University's "Archaeological Survey of Central and Southern Moab" resulted in the examination of 585 sites between Wadi Mujib and Wadi Hesa (the biblical rivers Arnon and Zered). Although the Middle and Late Bronze Ages

Region," *AUSS* 16 (1978) 201-13; idem, "An Intensive Surface Survey at Jalul," *AUSS* 16 (1978) 215-22. For a full bibliography on the Hesban excavations, see R. S. Boraas and L. T. Geraty, *Heshbon 1976: The Fifth Campaign at Tell Hesban* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 1978) 1, 2. For discussion on the presence of Late Bronze Age material at Tell Hesban, see D. M. Beegle, Review of Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, *CBQ* 33 (1971) 579-81 and L. T. Geraty, "The 1976 Season of Excavations at Tell Hesban," *ADAJ* 21 (1976) 42.

⁴²For the unusually thorough reports on the recent work in the Baq'ah Valley (just northwest of Amman), see P. McGovern, "The Baq'ah Valley, Jordan: A Cesium Magnetometer Survey," *MASCA Journal* 1 (1979) 39-41; idem, "Baq'ah Valley Project 1980," *BA* 44 (1981) 126-28; idem, "The Baq'ah Valley, Jordan: Test Soundings of Cesium Magnetometer Anomalies," *MASCA Journal* 1 (1981) 214-17; idem, "Baq'ah Valley Project 1981," *BA* 45 (1982) 122-24; idem, "Exploring the Burial Caves of the Baq'ah Valley in Jordan," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 46-53; P. E. McGovern, G. Harbottle, and C. Wnuk, "Late Bronze Age Pottery Fabrics from the Baq'ah Valley, Jordan: Composition and Origins," *MASCA Journal* 2 (1982) 8-12. The Baq'ah Valley is as far north as this article covers. Middle and Late Bronze materials from such sites as Irbid, Pella, Tell Deir 'Alla, and Tell es-Sa'adiyeh can be mentioned, but these sites fall outside of the geographical scope of this article and beyond the limits of Glueck's gap hypothesis.

⁴³The debate over this structure concerns its function and its apparent isolation from any settlement. For more on this discovery, see below and an interesting footnote in Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (rev. ed., Philadelphia: Westminster, 1979) 277, 278, n. 54.

⁴⁴See B. MacDonald, "The Wadi El Hasa Survey 1979: A Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* 24 (1980) 166-83; idem, "The Wadi el-Hasa Survey 1981," *BA* 45 (1982) 58, 59.

were well represented at these sites, the number of sherds from these periods was not as large as that from other historical eras. Since the overall results of this project have not yet been officially reported,⁴⁵ this brief summary of the ceramic data that relate to this period is preliminary:

Middle Bronze Age Pottery from Central and Southern Moab

9 sites yielded sherds that are either Middle or Late Bronze (MB/LB), each site having between 1 and 42 sherds with this designation.

26 sites yielded sherds that are possibly Middle Bronze (MB?), each site having between 1 and 8 sherds with this designation.

31 sites yielded sherds that are definitely Middle Bronze (MB), each site having between 1 and 46 sherds with this designation.

1 site yielded 1 sherd that is possibly Middle Bronze I (MB I?).

2 sites yielded sherds that are definitely Middle Bronze I (MB I), one site having 3 sherds and the other site 4 sherds with this designation.

1 site yielded 6 sherds that are possibly Middle Bronze II (MB II?).

Late Bronze Age Pottery from Central and Southern Moab

6 sites yielded sherds that are either Late Bronze or Iron Age I (LB/Iron I), each site having between 1 and 63 sherds with this designation.

47 sites yielded sherds that are possibly Late Bronze (LB?), each site having between 1 and 37 sherds with this designation.

75 sites yielded sherds that are definitely Late Bronze (LB), each site having between 1 and 30 sherds with this designation.

1 site yielded 2 sherds that are possibly Late Bronze I (LB I?).

1 site yielded 1 sherd that is definitely Late Bronze I (LB I).

1 site yielded 8 sherds that are either Late Bronze II or Iron Age I (LB II/Iron I).

6 sites yielded sherds that are definitely Late Bronze II (LB II), each site having between 1 and 46 sherds with this designation.

RECENT ASSESSMENTS OF GLUECK'S HYPOTHESIS

Even before the survey of Moab had been carried out, the archaeological finds from Transjordan led scholars to question

⁴⁵For preliminary reports on the Emory University survey of Central and Southern Moab, see J. M. Miller, "Archaeological Survey of Central Moab: 1978," *BASOR* 234 (1979) 43–52; idem, "Archaeological Survey South of Wadi Mujib," *ADAJ* 23 (1979) 79–92; idem, "Recent Archaeological Developments Relevant to Ancient Moab," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, ed. Adnan Hadidi (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982) 169–73; J. M. Pinkerton, "An Examination of Glueck's Conclusions Concerning Central Moab in the Light of the Miller-Pinkerton 1978 Archaeological Survey of Central Moab" (unpublished M.T.S. thesis, Candler School of Theology, 1979); idem, "A Survey of Moab," *Jordan* 4 (1979) 4–7; J. R. Kautz, "Tracking the Ancient Moabites," *BA* 44 (1981) 27–35.

Glueck's reconstruction. Three stances have emerged in the post-1934 evaluations of Glueck's gap hypothesis: (1) those who hold that Glueck's theory is incorrect; (2) those who hold that Glueck's theory is still correct; and (3) those who hold that Glueck's theory is in need of slight modification. It may appear that the difference between (1) and (3) is a matter of the degree of change that is sought, but there is, in fact, a significant difference in the tone that is used to criticize Glueck. Representatives of each of these positions are easily found; with no attempt to be exhaustive, some of their arguments are presented below. Since the dates of these evaluations are related to the weight of the argument put forth, publication dates are enclosed in parentheses following the scholars' names.

As expected, many scholars insist that Glueck's hypothesis is wrong, including Harding (1953, 1958, 1967),⁴⁶ Ma^cayeh (1960),⁴⁷ Dajani (1964, 1966),⁴⁸ Ward and Martin (1964),⁴⁹ Kenyon (1966),⁵⁰ Dornemann (1970),⁵¹ Franken (1970),⁵² Mittmann (1970),⁵³ Franken and Power (1971),⁵⁴ Zayadine (1973),⁵⁵ Thompson (1974a; 1974b),⁵⁶ Dever and Clark (1977),⁵⁷ and Bimson (1981).⁵⁸

⁴⁶For Harding's objections to Glueck's theory, see G. L. Harding, "A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at Amman," *PEFA* 6 (1953) 14; idem, "Recent Discoveries in Jordan," *PEQ* 90 (1958) 11, 12; idem, *Antiquities*, 32-34, 63.

⁴⁷F. S. Ma^cayeh, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Jordan," *ADAJ* 4-5 (1960) 115.

⁴⁸R. Dajani, "Iron Age Tombs from Irbed," *ADAJ* 8-9 (1964) 101; idem, "Jabal Nuzha Tomb at Amman," *ADAJ* 11 (1966) 49.

⁴⁹W. A. Ward and M. F. Martin, "The Balu^ca Stele: A New Transcription with Palaeographical and Historical Notes," *ADAJ* 8-9 (1964) 19-20.

⁵⁰K. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (London: British Academy, 1966) 64.

⁵¹R. H. Dornemann, "The Cultural and Archaeological History of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970) 8, 48, 49.

⁵²H. J. Franken, "The Other Side of the Jordan," *ADAJ* 15 (1970) 7-9.

⁵³S. Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970) 221, n. 32.

⁵⁴H. J. Franken and W. J. A. Power, "Glueck's *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* in the light of recent evidence," *VT* 21 (1971) 119-23.

⁵⁵F. Zayadine, "The Middle Bronze Age (c. 1900 to 1500 B.C.)" and "The Late Bronze Age (c. 1500 to 1200 B.C.)," *The Archaeological Heritage of Jordan: The Archaeological Periods and Sites (East Bank)*, Moawiyah Ibrahim, et al. (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1973) 18-21. Cf. A. Hadidi, "The Archaeology of Jordan: Achievements and Objectives," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, ed. A. Hadidi (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982) 16, 17.

⁵⁶T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narrative* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974) 192-94; idem "Observations on the Bronze Age in Jordan," *ADAJ* 19 (1974) 63-70.

⁵⁷W. G. Dever and W. M. Clark, "The Patriarchal Traditions," *Israelite and Judaeon History*, ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977) 90.

⁵⁸Bimson, *Redating*, 64-68.

Beginning as early as 1953, Harding questioned the accuracy of Glueck's hypothesis. While Harding had objections to the methodology that Glueck used in his survey, especially where Glueck's methods influenced his pottery analyses, Harding's real objection to the gap theory was based on the presence of Middle and Late Bronze tomb deposits and other archaeological evidence in Amman and its vicinity. Harding could not believe that these tombs, along with the Amman Airport Temple, were isolated phenomena or the work of tent-dwellers.⁵⁹ Furthermore, since Harding assumed a 13th-century date for the exodus-conquest, he contended that the biblical account "requires a fully occupied Edom, Moab and Ammon, and this cannot happen in a generation."⁶⁰

On the basis of their study of the Balu^ca stele, Ward and Martin concluded that there had to be a well-established sedentary population in Moab during the Late Bronze Age. They suggested that Glueck's hypothetical "cultural hiatus" is being filled in with newly discovered Middle and Late Bronze sites, and thus "our concept of this area during this period will have to undergo a radical change."⁶¹ In a later publication, Ward softened his critique of Glueck and suggested that "the scanty knowledge we now possess may require a reassessment, or at least a modification, of the current view."⁶²

Thompson postulated a cultural continuity for Transjordan from Late Chalcolithic through Late Bronze Age, a continuity perpetuated by the "typical Bronze Age settlement," the small agricultural village. Following his treatment of the theories related to Bronze Age population shifts, Thomson concluded that "the real curiosity is that Glueck's hypothesis was ever taken so seriously—as literally true—in the first place."⁶³

After listing a few examples of Middle Bronze finds from the area around Amman, Zayadine asserted that "the theory of Nelson Glueck about a nomadic life in the Middle Bronze Age in East Jordan can no longer be accepted."⁶⁴ A similar conclusion was reached with regard to the Late Bronze Age. In place of Glueck's gap hypothesis, Zayadine made the reasonable suggestion that Transjordan's Late Bronze Age culture was similar to the situation that exists today with nomadism juxtaposed alongside urbanism.⁶⁵

⁵⁹Harding, "A Middle Bronze Age Tomb from Amman," 14.

⁶⁰Harding, *Antiquities*, 35.

⁶¹Ward and Martin, "Balu^ca Stele," 19, 20.

⁶²Ward, "Shasu 'Bedouin'," 55.

⁶³Thompson, "Other Side," 66.

⁶⁴Zayadine, "Middle Bronze Age," 19.

⁶⁵Zayadine, "Late Bronze Age," 20.

Although it is difficult to find scholars who still adhere to Glueck's original gap hypothesis, it is interesting to observe that the early discoveries of Middle and Late Bronze evidence in central Transjordan did not lead to an immediate and wholesale denial of Glueck's historical reconstruction. While accepting the dates and importance of the more recently recovered data, Albright (1937, 1957, 1960),⁶⁶ Landes (1961),⁶⁷ and Campbell and Wright (1969)⁶⁸ continued to hold the view that this period and region witnessed a decline in sedentary occupation. They reasoned that the Middle and Late Bronze tombs from the vicinity of Amman could have been the work of nomadic or seminomadic tribes who lived in the area. Even the discovery and excavation of the Amman Airport Temple did not shake their confidence in Glueck, since it was proposed that this sanctuary could have served as the focal point of a regional tribal league. Following this same line of reasoning, Glueck reaffirmed a strong belief in his gap hypothesis in 1967.⁶⁹

Aside from the cautious statement of Bartlett, who in 1973 suggested that "it is as yet an open question how far these finds modify Glueck's view,"⁷⁰ there is still a third stance that can be taken in evaluating Glueck's hypothesis and in reappraising the archaeological evidence from Transjordan. This third position, which calls for only a slight modification of Glueck's theory, is best represented by Glueck himself (1970),⁷¹ Kafafi (1977),⁷² and Aharoni (1979).⁷³ In

⁶⁶For examples of Albright's continued support for Glueck's theory, see N. Glueck, "Explorations in the Land of Ammon," *BASOR* 68 (1937) 21, n. 21; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (2d ed.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1957) 61, 62; idem, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (rev. ed.; Baltimore: Penguin, 1960) 44; idem, "The Amarna Letters from Palestine," *CAH* (3d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1975), 2/2. 107.

⁶⁷G. M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *BA* 24 (1961) 67, 68.

⁶⁸E. F. Campbell, Jr. and G. E. Wright, "Tribal League Shrines in Amman and Shechem," *BA* 32 (1969) 116.

⁶⁹N. Glueck, "Transjordan," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. W. Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 443-45.

⁷⁰J. R. Bartlett, "The Moabites and Edomites," *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973) 231, 232.

⁷¹N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (2d ed.; Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1970) 139-42, 157.

⁷²Zeidan Abd El-Kafi Kafafi, "Late Bronze Age Pottery in Jordan (East Bank) 1575-1200 B.C." (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Jordan, 1977) vii-x, 73, 464.

⁷³Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 102. With regard to his assessment of Glueck's gap hypothesis, it is difficult to discern Aharoni's viewpoint. For example, on p. 102 Aharoni praises Glueck's survey and supports his reconstruction. On the other hand, Aharoni suggested that Late Bronze Age Midian boasted a sophisticated culture, and he suggested that "the establishment of well organized kingdoms in these areas [Edom and Moab] during the thirteenth century B.C. is more and more attested by archaeology"

addition to these three, Pinkerton (1979),⁷⁴ Miller (1979, 1982),⁷⁵ and Kautz (1981),⁷⁶ all staff members of the Emory University Moab Survey, agree that there was a decline in the sedentary population of central Transjordan during part of Glueck's gap, but they feel that the new data from Moab call for some modification of the original gap hypothesis. I hold this same position.

Many scholars will be surprised to learn that Glueck himself revised his original gap hypothesis in the second edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1970). Indeed, the changes are so substantial that much of the current criticism of Glueck's reconstruction of Transjordan's Middle and Late Bronze history is unnecessary. The pivotal statement in this revision reads as follows:

In much of Transjordan, especially in the areas some distance south of the south side of the Wadi Zerqa (Biblical River Jabboq), the Middle Bronze I period of the Age of Abraham seems to have been followed by a considerable decline in sedentary settlement during the Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze I-II periods, although not as radically as we had once assumed.⁷⁷

In presenting his revised hypothesis, Glueck not only listed the recent Middle and Late Bronze finds from central Transjordan, but he reminded his readers that he had also found some sites from this period in his own survey. Glueck insisted, however, that such materials were not found in sufficient quantities to prove the existence of widespread urbanism.⁷⁸ As always, Glueck made provision in his reconstruction for sedentary occupation, a fact that is often overlooked.⁷⁹

If we examine Kafafi's comments on this issue, we notice that he had two distinct advantages over Glueck: (1) Kafafi's study came out seven years after the revised edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan*, thus allowing time for additional archaeological reports to be published; and (2) Kafafi did not have a vested interest in this subject, as did Glueck. Nevertheless, Kafafi holds that attempts to alter Glueck's hypothesis are unsuccessful, since most of these attempts are based on tomb deposits, not the excavation of walled towns. Kafafi concludes

(pp. 204-6). D. Baly, (Review of Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, BA 44 [1981] 251) points out that such a statement is incorrect. To make matters worse, Rainey (as was pointed out in n. 24 above) points to the Amman Airport Temple as proof of urbanism in central Transjordan.

⁷⁴Pinkerton, "Examination of Glueck's Conclusions," 70-73.

⁷⁵Miller, "Archaeological Survey of Central Moab," 51; idem, "Recent Archaeological Developments," 172.

⁷⁶Kautz, "Ancient Moabites," 31-34.

⁷⁷Glueck, *Other Side* (2d ed.), 140, 141.

⁷⁸Glueck, *Other Side* (2d ed.), 141-42.

⁷⁹Glueck (*Other Side* [2d ed.], 142) speaks about a "decline in sedentary settlement."

by saying that much archaeological work must be done before the issue is settled, but the available data do not compel a major revision of Glueck's theory.⁸⁰

Miller's observations provide a summary of how the Moab Survey data, which were presented above, bear upon the modification of the gap hypothesis:

In short, while our findings agree with Glueck's findings in that we also notice a sudden decline in the abundance of surface pottery representing the Middle Bronze Age, ours do not confirm his conclusion that there was a virtually complete occupational gap which extended throughout the Late Bronze Age and ended specifically during the thirteenth century. There is the prior question, of course, as to whether the relative abundance of surface pottery from a given period is a safe indicator of its degree of sedentary occupation. To the extent that it is, our findings seems to indicate at least a scattering of settlements even during the Middle Bronze Age which gradually increased in number during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS

The presentation of the archaeological data from Transjordan and the accompanying survey of scholarly opinions lead to at least three conclusions.

First, it is obvious that there are Middle and Late Bronze Age artifacts in central and southern Transjordan. It is true, however, that finds from these periods are still not plentiful. For example, in Moab, Middle and Late Bronze sherds are not found at as many sites or in as great a quantity as pottery from other periods (e.g., Early Bronze and Iron Ages and the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods). In spite of the accelerated pace of archaeological research in central and southern Transjordan, Glueck's gap has not been filled completely. In other words, it still appears that social, political, or economic factors led to a genuine population decline in Middle and Late Bronze Age Transjordan.

Second, the recently recovered archaeological remains from Transjordan, including the new data from Moab, demonstrate that Glueck's original gap hypothesis must be abandoned. Glueck's 1934 theory is still cited as an object of attack, even though Glueck himself revised his position thirteen years ago. Glueck's new historical reconstruction in the 1970 edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan* seems to be in harmony with the archaeological picture that is now emerging.

⁸⁰Kafafi, "Late Bronze Age Pottery," x.

⁸¹Miller, "Recent Archaeological Developments," 172.

Third, while archaeologists have not recovered evidence of extensive kingdoms in Late Bronze Age Edom, Moab, or Ammon, it can no longer be said that these regions were devoid of a population that could oppose the migrating Hebrews. This means that one of the four main arguments used to support the late date of the exodus-conquest is no longer valid. Those who appeal to an occupational gap in Late Bronze Age Transjordan prove that they are unaware of the recently recovered archaeological evidence, since the archaeological data from this time and region appear to be neutral in the debate on the date of the exodus-conquest. It should be noted, however, that the Late Bronze material recovered in the territory to the north of Jalul displays a continuity with the Canaanite culture on the west side of the Jordan River.⁸²

⁸²I am indebted to Dr. James Sauer for this final observation.

EVANGELICALS, REDACTION CRITICISM, AND THE CURRENT INERRANCY CRISIS

DAVID L. TURNER

Evangelicals in America are currently engaged in discussions about the viability of redaction criticism as an exegetical method for those committed to biblical inerrancy. Robert H. Gundry's Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art has been a catalyst in the present debate. This study surveys the background and the current situation by summarizing and evaluating the works of three men: Ned B. Stonehouse, Grant R. Osborne, and Robert H. Gundry. Also, the contemporary problems of the Evangelical Theological Society (ETS) are outlined. It is recommended that the ETS adopt the "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" as a proper clarification of its own historic position.

* * *

INTRODUCTION

WITHOUT a doubt, a crisis exists today in the evangelical world in the area of biblical inerrancy. One factor which has been a catalyst in the present controversy is the rise of redaction criticism. Evangelicals who hold to inerrancy are currently attempting to articulate an approach to the synoptic gospels which honors them as inspired documents which record historical events from unique theological perspectives. This dual nature of the gospels—history and theological purpose—is universally acknowledged. However, severe difficulties arise when men attempt to work out the specific implications of these factors. It is not an overstatement to say that the traditional orthodox approach to inerrancy is hanging in the balance, since some evangelicals today are beginning to view purportedly historical events recorded in the gospels as unhistorical theological tales.

Redaction criticism (RC) has been defined as

a method of Biblical criticism which seeks to lay bare the theological perspectives of a Biblical writer by analyzing the editorial (redactional)

and compositional techniques and interpretations employed by him in shaping and framing the written and/or oral traditions at hand.¹

RC has come into prominence in the 20th century largely through the works of Willi Marxsen,² Günther Bornkamm,³ and Hans Conzelmann⁴ on the synoptic gospels. As practiced in most circles today it is based upon two other critical approaches to the NT—source criticism and form criticism. The prevailing theory of source criticism is the “two document theory”: Matthew used Mark and another source, Q, in composing his gospel. Form criticism attempts to get behind the written sources to the preliterate stage of oral traditions.⁵

Both source criticism and form criticism tended to fragment and atomize the gospels. RC arose as a more holistic approach dedicated to viewing the gospels as they stand as individual entities.⁶ It originated to correct the oneness of the other two approaches, so that the “forest” would not be missed due to microscopic examination of the “trees.”⁷ It should not be supposed, however, that RC denies the insights of the other two approaches. On the contrary, RC presupposes the validity of both source and form criticism.⁸ The insights of these two disciplines regarding individual pericopes are the basis for RC’s study of “the ‘seams’ by which the sources are joined together, the summaries, modification, insertions, and omissions made, and in general the selection and arrangement of material.”⁹ As RC is done, the unique theological emphasis of each evangelist becomes more clear.

Evangelicals have attempted to utilize a more moderate form of RC. After all, the Lukan prologue (Luke 1:1–4) and John’s statement regarding his purpose (John 20:30–31) clearly allude to the use of previous traditions and to theological selectivity in recording only certain events from Christ’s earthly ministry. Ned B. Stonehouse is a

¹R. N. Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism* (2d ed.; Atlanta: John Knox, 1981) 165.

²*Mark the Evangelist* (trans. J. Boyce et al.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969).

³With G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (trans. P. Scott; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963).

⁴*The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; New York: Harper and Row, 1961).

⁵For concise explanations of source criticism and form criticism see Soulen, *Handbook*, 71–74; 113–15.

⁶For detailed surveys of the origin and development of RC see N. Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), and J. Rohde, *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists* (trans. D. Barton; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968).

⁷R. H. Stein, “What is Redaktionsgeschichte?” *JBL* 88 (1969) 45.

⁸It is not altogether true that “form criticism has outgrown its usefulness” and that it is “outdated and will have to go into retirement,” as S. J. Kistemaker states in *The Gospels in Current Study* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 50, 52.

⁹S. S. Smalley, “Redaction Criticism,” *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods* (ed. I. H. Marshall; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 184–85.

pioneer in this area, and his works are discussed below. Among other works which could be mentioned are William L. Lane's commentary on Mark,¹⁰ I. H. Marshall's two books on Luke,¹¹ and Ralph Martin's study of Mark.¹² Robert Gundry's commentary on Matthew is probably the most controversial work in this field. Gundry's approach to Matthew also receives attention shortly.

Of vital concern to inerrantists is the historicity of the events portrayed in the gospels. Granted that the evangelists were theologians, the question is, can a theologian write history?¹³ A related question is, did the evangelists find it necessary to create theological tales about Jesus in order to be relevant to their church's needs, or were the historical facts which they knew about Jesus sufficient to meet the needs of not only their churches but also the needs of believers throughout all time? This study examines three evangelical approaches to RC which attempt to treat the gospels as simultaneously theological and historical.¹⁴ First, these three approaches are summarized. Then, each will be evaluated in turn. Finally, the current situation of the ETS as it pertains to this issue is discussed. It is concluded that the theologians who were moved by the Holy Spirit to write the gospels did write history. "All the evangelists were men who saw events as vehicles of truth regarding Jesus Christ, but there is no reason to suppose that the events were created in a theological interest."¹⁵

SUMMARY OF THREE IMPORTANT APPROACHES

Ned B. Stonehouse

Ned Bernard Stonehouse (1902–1962) taught NT at Westminster Theological Seminary from its inception in 1929 until his death. His work is included here even though some of it predates the use of the term RC because Stonehouse was a pioneer. His works have recently

¹⁰*The Gospel According to Mark* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), esp. 3–7. Lane's commentary properly assumes the validity of a RC which presupposes historicity as the basis of theological meaning. See also his "Redaktionsgeschichte and the De-historicizing of the New Testament Gospel," *BETS* 11 (1968) 27–33.

¹¹*Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), esp. 17–52; also *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGNTC; ed. I. H. Marshall and W. W. Gasque; Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), esp. 32–33.

¹²*Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1972), esp. 46–50.

¹³D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1970) 219.

¹⁴The three approaches chosen for this study were selected from several others of merit due to their representative positions and the fact that the three men are American evangelicals who have been involved in the ETS.

¹⁵Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 219.

been reprinted¹⁶ and his contributions have been noted both by M. Silva¹⁷ and by R. H. Gundry.¹⁸ W. L. Lane explains:

In his method of approaching the first two gospels, Stonehouse broke new ground. At that time most synoptic studies concerned themselves with the recovery of the traditions behind the finished gospels. In contrast, Stonehouse determined to focus his attention on the total witness of an evangelist to Christ with the conviction that an evangelist's distinctive interests and theological convictions are reflected in the composition of his work as a whole. The validity of this approach has been acknowledged by virtually all biblical scholars today, but at the time when Stonehouse published his volume it marked a bold departure from both radical and conservative approaches to the gospels.¹⁹

In *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ*, Stonehouse devotes four chapters to each gospel. He points out the astonishing meagerness of Mark's preface concerning Christ's early life.²⁰ Emphasis falls upon Mark's frequent omission of historical information,²¹ chronological factors,²² and incidental details.²³ The striking abruptness of the beginning of this gospel is relevant to the textual question at the end of the gospel. Thus RC informs textual criticism and the abrupt short ending (16:8) is defended as original.²⁴ Stonehouse underlines the fact that Mark does not write with the attention to detail one would expect of a biographer. Nevertheless, he repeatedly emphasizes the historicity of the events Mark records.²⁵ More than once the history versus theology dilemma is viewed not as an "either . . . or" but as a "both . . . and" situation.²⁶ "The proclamation of the meaning

¹⁶*The Witness of the Synoptic Gospels to Christ* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) combines *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ* (originally published in 1944) and *The Witness of Luke to Christ* (originally published in 1951). His other book *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels: Some Basic Questions* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) was originally published in 1963, just after Stonehouse died.

¹⁷Silva's two-part study, "Ned. B. Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism" appeared in *WTJ* 40 (1977-78) 77-88; 281-303.

¹⁸Gundry claims that his approach to Matthew was to some extent anticipated by Stonehouse. See Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 623.

¹⁹W. L. Lane, "Foreword," *The Witness of the Synoptic Gospels to Christ*, vii. Cf. Stonehouse's "Preface" to the same volume.

²⁰Stonehouse, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ*, 6.

²¹*Ibid.*, 24.

²²*Ibid.*, 27, 30.

²³*Ibid.*, 34, 116-17.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 99, 116-17.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 30-31, 33, 49, 51-52, 54, 77, 83.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 36-37, 49, 52, 83.

of that divine action in history is necessarily doctrinal without ceasing to be historical."²⁷

Matthew is viewed as similar to Mark in that it differs from secular biographies in its lack of chronology and historical details.²⁸ The presence of the infancy narratives in Matthew shows that Matthew's purpose greatly differed from Mark's.²⁹ Though the infancy narratives lack many historical and chronological details, their historicity is not thereby undermined.³⁰ Though Matthew's references to time and place are not often precise enough to fit into a detailed itinerary, it does not follow that they "are simply the creation of the evangelist in the interest of adding to the vividness of the narrative."³¹ Matthew's "great commission" passage (28:18–20), including the trinitarian formula, is viewed as a reported discourse of Jesus, not as an editorial composition.³² On the subject of Matthew's creating or reshaping accounts to meet the needs of his church, Stonehouse affirms that Matthew indeed followed the aim of meeting the needs of the church. However, he hastily adds that Matthew "had not lost the ability to distinguish between the history of Christ and the history of the church."³³ He wrote what he held to be true. Thus, reading the church's theology back into Matthew "undermines the very foundation of the Christian faith and makes the evangelist a herald of falsehood."³⁴

In *The Witness of Luke to Christ*, Stonehouse begins with a stimulating treatment of Luke's prologue (1:1–4). He concludes that the use of the adverb καθεξῆς in 1:3 does not necessitate viewing Luke as strictly chronological in order. Instead he proposes that Luke has in mind an orderly, connected, comprehensive account.³⁵ Luke's emphasis upon Christ's infancy and inclusion of its historical details is also noted.³⁶ On the other hand, Luke's compressed treatment of the death and resurrection of Christ, involving lack of explanation of duration and progress of events, is also highlighted.³⁷ Luke's method of writing results in his accounts frequently being more concise than

²⁷Ibid., 52.

²⁸Ibid., 124–25, 127, 132, 136, 139, 147–48, 162, 169, 178–79, 186–87.

²⁹Ibid., 124–27.

³⁰Ibid., 221.

³¹Ibid., 149–50, 132.

³²Ibid., 211–12.

³³Ibid., 257.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Stonehouse, *The Witness of Luke to Christ*, 40–41. Significantly, BAGD, 338, define καθεξῆς as "in order, one after the other, of sequence in time, space, or logic." Thus, chronology may not be the point.

³⁶Ibid., 46–47.

³⁷Ibid., 128–29.

Mark's and less attentive to geography and chronology than Mark's.³⁸ Though he recognizes all these things, Stonehouse still makes it quite clear that Luke is historical. Luke is not a theological creation of the Christian community.³⁹ For Luke, "Christianity stood or fell with the objective reality of certain happenings."⁴⁰ Overall,

one may freely acknowledge . . . that his interest is theological and christological . . . but it is crucial to a proper estimate of the Lucan philosophy of history not to regard the christological and the historical as mutually exclusive. Though he does not write as a secular historian, Luke gives evidence at every point of being concerned with historical fact and takes great pains to assure his readers that he is qualified to provide them with reliable information concerning what had taken place.⁴¹

Stonehouse's last work, posthumously published, was *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*. In it he opted, with some reservations, for the priority of Mark and for the use of Mark by Matthew.⁴² At the conclusion of a chapter on the story of the rich young ruler appear some noteworthy general observations. Stonehouse asserts that the evangelists were not always concerned with Jesus' *ipsissima verba*; they exercised a certain amount of literary freedom.⁴³ This assertion leads him to comment that though a simplistic harmonizing approach to synoptic difficulties may be helpful at times, there is a sounder approach. This involves (1) "the exercise of greater care in determining what the Gospels as a whole and in detail actually say," (2) "greater restraint in arriving at conclusions where the available evidence does not justify ready answers," and (3) not maintaining "that the trustworthiness of the gospels allows the evangelists no liberty of composition whatsoever."⁴⁴ Notarial exactitude and pedantic precision do not characterize the gospels in Stonehouse's view, and he alludes to similar statements in John Calvin, John Murray, B. B. Warfield, H. Bavinck, L. Berkhof, and A. Kuyper.⁴⁵ A crucial point that must not be missed, however, is the fact that Matthew's liberty of composition does not justify the conclusions of some "that a doctrinal modification has taken place."⁴⁶ Later in the book the historicity of

³⁸Ibid., 103.

³⁹Ibid., 29.

⁴⁰Ibid., 44-45.

⁴¹Ibid., 67, cf. 33-34, 53-54, 59.

⁴²Stonehouse, *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 76, 92, 111.

⁴³Ibid., 108.

⁴⁴Ibid., 109.

⁴⁵Ibid., n. 17.

⁴⁶Ibid., 110.

the gospel accounts and their total continuity with the Jesus of history is unqualifiedly asserted.⁴⁷ The conclusion of it all is that

Once it is acknowledged that the divine Messiah alone can explain the origin of that [gospel] tradition will one be in a position to discern how, as a part of a single historical movement, the Gospels not only as matchless historical documents but as integral parts of Holy Scripture came into being.⁴⁸

Grant R. Osborne

Grant Osborne teaches NT at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. He has written four articles on NT criticism⁴⁹ and recently read a paper on genre criticism at the Chicago Meeting of the International Congress on Biblical Inerrancy (ICBI).⁵⁰

Osborne's first article, "Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission," focused on Matt 28:16–20 with the purpose of illumining a biblical understanding of inerrancy. The crucial point of this article was that Matthew's triadic baptismal formula (28:19) "expanded an original monadic formula."⁵¹ This was not free composition by Matthew but was a correct interpretation (*ipsissima vox*) of Jesus' *ipsissima verba*. Later in the article Osborne addresses the issue of biblical inerrancy, contending that synoptic differences are "the logical testing ground for the doctrine of inerrancy." These differences "show that the evangelists did not attempt to give us the *ipsissima verba* but to interpret Jesus' words for their audiences . . . to makes Jesus' teachings meaningful to their own *Sitz im Leben*."⁵² The article concludes with the plea that history and theology are complementary and that the "domino theory" of deteriorating biblical authority need not be correct.

In the second article, "The Evangelical and *Traditionsgeschichte*," Osborne seeks to evaluate the method's use by non-evangelicals and to set it upon evangelical presuppositions. This method "seeks to determine the growth of a particular concept of tradition within the

⁴⁷Ibid., 148, 175, 190–92.

⁴⁸Ibid., 192.

⁴⁹These are "Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission: A Case Study Toward a Biblical Understanding of Inerrancy," *JETS* 19 (1976) 73–85; "The Evangelical and *Traditionsgeschichte*," *JETS* 21 (1978) 117–30; "The Evangelical and Redaction Criticism: Critique and Methodology," *JETS* 22 (1979) 305–22; and "Redactional Trajectories in the Crucifixion Narratives," *EvQ* 51 (1979) 80–96.

⁵⁰"Genre Criticism—Sensus Literalis," *Summit II: Hermeneutics Papers* (Oakland: ICBI, 1982) 3–1–54. These papers are to be published by Zondervan.

⁵¹"Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission," 80, cf., 83.

⁵²Ibid., 84, cf., 85: "Matthew has faithfully reproduced the intent and meaning of what Jesus said."

history of the early church."⁵³ The critique of the erroneous practice of the method by non-evangelicals is lucid and insightful. Next a positive approach is set forth. In the process of the tradition's growth the selection and shaping process "did not involve creating or changing the historical data."⁵⁴ Inerrancy "covers both fact (the original event) and interpretation (the explanation of the ramifications of the event for the readers). There is no dichotomy between the two."⁵⁵ It is concluded that when it is properly defined and practiced, *Traditionsgeschichte* is a positive, helpful tool.

Osborne's approach in the earlier two articles did not go unnoticed by negative critics.⁵⁶ In a third article, "The Evangelical and Redaction Criticism," he responded with a defense and clarification of his position. After surveying evangelical dialogue on biblical criticism, he sought to appraise RC accurately. In a crucial paragraph he clarified his view of the triadic formula of Matt 28:19:

I did not mean that Matthew had freely composed the triadic formula and read it back onto the lips of Jesus. Rather, Jesus had certainly (as in virtually every speech in the NT) spoken for a much longer time and had given a great deal more teaching than reported in the short statement of Matt 28:18–20. In it I believe he probably elucidated the trinitarian background behind the whole speech. This was compressed by Matthew in the form recorded.⁵⁷

Thus, Osborne attempted to handle properly both the differences and the veracity of the synoptic accounts. Next a discussion of proper redactional methodology is pursued, with several helpful insights. At the end Osborne appeals to skeptical evangelicals to consider the synoptic differences; in his view these demand a redactional treatment of a sort like his study of Matt 28:18–20.

The evidence points to the presence of selection and coloring but not to the creation of sayings or even of details. The evangelists themselves throughout show nothing but the highest regard for Jesus' actual meaning. They applied and highlighted but never twisted or created new meaning.⁵⁸

⁵³"The Evangelical and *Traditionsgeschichte*," 117.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 127.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 127–28.

⁵⁶E.g., J. W. Montgomery, "The Fuzzification of Biblical Inerrancy," *Faith Founded on Fact: Essays in Evidential Apologetics* (Nashville: Nelson, 1978) 220–21, and "Why Has God Incarnate Suddenly Become Mythical?" *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* (ed. K. Kantzer and S. N. Gundry; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 57–65.

⁵⁷"The Evangelical and Redaction Criticism," 311.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 322.

In another study, "Redactional Trajectories in the Crucifixion Narratives," Osborne employs once again the methodology proposed, defended, and clarified in the other three articles. He believes that the passion tradition in the synoptics is a developing tradition:

It is obvious, on the basis of the numerous additions by Matthew and Luke to Mark, that the passion story was not static but dynamic, and the early evangelists added or subtracted episodes as the theological situation dictated. This does not mean that the pericopes themselves were necessarily non-historical, only that the story itself was fluid and subject to development.⁵⁹

The bulk of the article seeks to isolate the specific theological emphases of all four gospels' passion narratives. The conclusion maintains simultaneously (1) the continuity between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith, and (2) the creative interpretive genius of the evangelists in "selecting and colouring episodes."⁶⁰

Osborne's ICBI paper on genre criticism deserves brief notice. It is a broad survey of the history of literary genre from Plato and Aristotle to modern times. There is a direct connection, Osborne concludes, between genre and the literal sense of Scripture. Understanding genre "is an epistemological tool for unlocking meaning in individual texts and an indispensable aid to the interpretive task."⁶¹ Genre is also relevant for the formulation of a biblical doctrine of inerrancy, which must be based upon the internal evidence of Scripture. More specifically, knowledge of genre will "keep one from seeing 'surface' discrepancies in the text." It will "provide the strongest possible apology for the doctrine of inerrancy by resolving many so-called 'contradictions' or 'errors' in Scripture."⁶²

Robert H. Gundry

Robert Gundry is professor of religious studies at Westmont College. His approach to RC has been shown in detail in his recent commentary on Matthew.⁶³ Earlier he had published a scholarly monograph on Matthew's use of the OT.⁶⁴ It is safe to say that Gundry's treatment of Matthew's "literary and theological art" is the most thorough and controversial evangelical study to date. The book has

⁵⁹"Redactional Trajectories in the Crucifixion Narratives," 81.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 96.

⁶¹"Genre Criticism—Sensus Literalis," 3–40.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 3–41.

⁶³*Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

⁶⁴*The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

been reviewed by both conservatives⁶⁵ and liberals.⁶⁶ The stir created by its publication has even been noticed by the secular press.⁶⁷

Gundry's commentary presupposes that Matthew uses Mark and a broadened Q which includes the traditions later found in Luke's infancy narratives.⁶⁸ It is not a heavily documented work including interaction with other views, but a work in which Gundry fully develops his own line of interpretation.⁶⁹ The introduction reveals that "Matthew's choice of words . . . betrays his editorial hand."⁷⁰ Thus statistical analysis of Matthew's favorite diction yields results for redaction critical theory. Matthew's theology shows concern for the problem of a large mixed church. Jewish Christianity is "breaking out into the wide world of the Gentiles."⁷¹ "Matthew writes his gospel to keep persecution from stymieing evangelism."⁷²

In the commentary proper, the reader is immediately struck by Gundry's insistence upon theological emphasis in the genealogy of Jesus.⁷³ The "fluidity" of this genealogy transforms it into a christological statement which prepares the reader for a "similar change of a historical report . . . into a theological tale. . . . Matthew turns the annunciation to Mary before her conceiving Jesus into an annunciation to Joseph after her conceiving Jesus."⁷⁴ This method of understanding Matt 1:18-25 is also employed in treating 2:1-12. "Matthew now turns the visit of the local Jewish shepherds (Luke 2:8-20) into the adoration by Gentile magi from foreign parts."⁷⁵ Later the praiseful return of the shepherds is transformed by Matthew into the magi's

⁶⁵From a conservative perspective, see D. A. Carson, "Gundry on Matthew: A Critical Review," *TrinJ* 3 (1982) 71-91; R. T. France, *Themelios* 8 (1983) 31-32; R. P. Gruenler, *New Approaches to Jesus and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982) 245-51; M. M. Hanna, "Biblical Inerrancy Versus Midrashic Redactionism" (unpublished paper read at the ETS Regional Meeting at Arrowhead Springs, CA, March 21, 1980); P. B. Payne, "The Question of Midrash and History in the Gospels: A Critique of R. H. Gundry's *Matthew*," *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. 3 (Sheffield: JSOT, forthcoming); and D. P. Scaer, *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 46 (1982) 247-48.

⁶⁶From a more liberal viewpoint, see L. Cope, *ATR* 65 (1983) 218-20; and M. T. Norwood, Jr., *Christian Century* 99 (Sept 1-8, 1982) 903-4.

⁶⁷J. Dart, "Controversial Study of Matthew's Gospel Challenges Conservative Views," *Los Angeles Times* (Dec 11, 1982), Part 1-A, 10-11. Unfortunately, this article paints Gundry as a man who is willing to face the facts being attacked by ultra-conservatives who will not face the facts. See also another article by Dart, "Society Clears New Testament Professor," *Los Angeles Times* (Dec 25, 1982), Part 1, 36-37.

⁶⁸Gundry, *Matthew*, xi.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 2.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 9.

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³*Ibid.*, 13f.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 26, cf., 28, 29, 31.

flight from persecution.⁷⁶ Still another incident, the flight to Egypt (2:13–15), is a Matthean creation, changed from the holy family's trip to Jerusalem (Luke 2:22).⁷⁷ Finally, a fourth incident, the slaughter of Bethlehem's babies (Matt 2:16–18) is the result of a change from the sacrificial slaying of two turtledoves in the temple (Luke 2:29). "Herod's massive crimes made it easy for Matthew to manipulate the dominical tradition in this way."⁷⁸ Problems of harmonizing Matthew and Luke support this type of treatment. Gundry's preliminary justification for his method is as follows:

It may be asked how Matthew can put forward his embellishments of tradition as fulfillments of the OT. But this phenomenon should surprise us no more than his transforming historical statements in the OT—those concerning the Exodus and the Babylonian Exile—into Messianic prophecies. We will have to broaden our understanding of "happened" as well as "fulfilled" when reading that such-and-such happened in order that so-and-so's prophecy might be fulfilled. Two features of Matthew's practice save him from fantasy: (1) his embellishments rest on historical data, which he hardly means to deny by embellishing them; (2) the embellishments foreshadow genuinely historical events such as vindications of Jesus as God's Son in the resurrection. . . .⁷⁹

Later in the commentary Gundry asserts that Matthew assimilated Luke's woes into beatitudes (5:4ff.). Four of the eight beatitudes are constructed (or created) by Matthew himself.⁸⁰ Among other passages which Gundry views as Matthew's compositions rather than Christ's words or deeds are 10:5–8; 11:28–30; 13:24–30, 36–43; 14:28–31; 16:17–19; portions of 18; 23:3, 17–22; 27:19, 51b–53; and 28:19–20.⁸¹

A "Theological Postscript"⁸² provides the full justification for Gundry's treatment. He is aware that his approach raises grave questions regarding biblical authority. The first paragraph of the postscript is repeated here due to its cruciality:

Clearly, Matthew treats us to history mixed with elements that cannot be called historical in a modern sense. All history writing entails more or less editing of materials. But Matthew's editing often goes beyond the bounds we nowadays want a historian to respect. It does not stop at selecting certain data and dressing them up with considerable

⁷⁶Ibid., 32.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., 35. Cf. his understanding of 21:16 (414, 604).

⁷⁹Ibid., 37.

⁸⁰Ibid., 69.

⁸¹Ibid., 184, 218, 261, 300, 330–31, 358, 454, 462, 562, 575, 595–96.

⁸²Ibid., 623–40.

interpretation. . . . Matthew's subtractions, additions, and revision of order and phraseology often show changes of substance; i.e., they represent developments of the dominical tradition that result in different meanings and departures from the actuality of events.⁸³

This approach is necessary since traditional conservative Protestant responses will not work. These invalid approaches include (1) side-stepping the details of the text, (2) pleading for suspension of judgment until solutions are found, and (3) bending over backwards for harmonizations.⁸⁴ Rhetorically, Gundry asks whether

embroidering history with unhistorical elements a la midrash and haggadah would be inappropriate to God's Word, though proverbs and parables, apocalyptic and erotic poetry are not? Who are we to make such a judgment? And what reason would we have for it? Would it be anything more than lack of appreciation for a literary genre that we think strangely ancient or personally unappealing?⁸⁵

The mention of literary genre signals the basis for Gundry's whole approach. The input of midrash-haggadah genre for Matthew means that Matthew's narrative style does not necessarily imply the writing of unmixed history. As this genre of Jewish literature embroidered the OT, so Matthew embroiders his sources, Mark and Q. "He treated these sources, which, like the OT, were written and venerated, in much the same way the OT was treated by those who produced midrash and haggadah."⁸⁶

None of this should occasion alarm. Elsewhere in Scripture and in other literature we live comfortably with differences of intent. . . . If, then, Matthew writes that Jesus said or did something that Jesus did not say or do in the way described—this supported by adequate exegetical and comparative data—we have to say that Matthew did not write entirely reportorial history. Comparison with midrashic and haggadic literature of his era suggests he did not intend to do so.⁸⁷

Those who are not disposed to agree with Gundry are cautioned against making invalid demands on Scripture and against literary insensitivity. After all, modern biographical novels contain a mixture of history and fiction which is recognized by writer and reader alike. Modern preachers and writers likewise embellish biblical accounts in order to make them culturally relevant and doctrinally appropriate.

⁸³Ibid., 623.

⁸⁴Ibid., 625–26.

⁸⁵Ibid., 626.

⁸⁶Ibid., 628.

⁸⁷Ibid., 629.

Biblical clarity does not demand that Matthew identify the unhistorical elements in his gospel. Matthew's original audience understood his intent because they were not preoccupied with 20th-century historical-critical demands.⁸⁸ It may be granted that this approach "narrows the historical basis of Christian faith but not nearly so much that the Christian faith is threatened with collapse."⁸⁹

In conclusion, Gundry asserts that the Spirit guided Matthew in this whole process so that both the historical and non-historical portions of Matthew constitute God's Word. There is no alternative:

If we do not enlarge the room given to differences of literary genre and, consequently, of intended meaning, scriptural inspiration, authority, infallibility, or inerrancy—call it what we will—cannot survive the "close reading" of the biblical text now going on. The old method of harmonizing what we can and holding the rest in suspension has seen its day, like worn-out scientific theories that no longer explain newly discovered phenomena well enough.⁹⁰

EVALUATION OF THE APPROACHES

Ned B. Stonehouse

Silva's excellent study of Stonehouse correctly depicts his work as that of a pioneer. Though RC was to become a tool largely destructive of the historicity of the NT, Stonehouse used the method "to strengthen confidence in the historical reliability of the gospels."⁹¹ Evangelicals who were contemporary with Stonehouse heard this apologetic note for historicity but did not perceive Stonehouse's point concerning the theological character and concern of the evangelists.⁹² It is clear that Stonehouse, as a Reformed thinker in the tradition of Warfield, championed the doctrine of inerrancy. He saw no contradiction between this theological stance and the recognition of the unique phenomena of the synoptics. There was an absolute continuity between the Jesus of history and the Jesus of the gospels. Probably the most detailed statement of his position occurred in his last book after his study of the rich young ruler pericope. As previously summarized, Stonehouse will have none of the doctrinal modification views of Streeter and Taylor.⁹³ This approach is quite attractive.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 629–35.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 637.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 639.

⁹¹"Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: I," 78.

⁹²"Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: II," 282.

⁹³*Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 110.

Near the end of Silva's study he points out that Stonehouse's work may point to a further step in synoptic studies—genre criticism.⁹⁴ The hypothetical situation of an unhistorical literary form is proposed for evaluation. This could be accepted in principle, for Jesus' parables are not all strictly historical. Thus Matthew could theoretically have composed an account of Jesus' life and ministry containing some non-historical material.⁹⁵ Silva seems to think that though Stonehouse would not have endorsed this theory, he nevertheless left it open as a possibility.⁹⁶ This line of reasoning is summarized as follows:

*A semi-historical interpretation of Matthew's Gospel does not in principle appear to be incompatible with verbal inspiration, nor would the presence of some unhistorical material in one gospel by itself cast doubts on the historicity of Jesus' life and work. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests that we need not interpret the gospel material in a substantially freer manner than Stonehouse did.*⁹⁷

I do not agree that Stonehouse's works leave open this possibility. Nevertheless, that does not prove what Stonehouse would have thought. Additionally, the problem with this approach is that to all intents and purposes, Matthew clearly purports to be historical. Where does the text indicate where the history stops and the midrash begins?

Though Silva would not interpret the gospel material in a substantially freer manner than Stonehouse, Silva's colleague at that time, Robert Gundry, would appear to do so. Nevertheless, Gundry claims that Stonehouse "found it necessary to admit as much."⁹⁸ That is, Gundry asserts that Stonehouse would reluctantly agree that Matthew's subtractions, additions, and revisions result in different meanings and departures from actual events. Once again I must disagree. It would appear from Stonehouse's general statements and from the one place where he speaks to this specific issue⁹⁹ that he would not accept doctrinal modification. D. A. Carson's searching critique of Gundry comes to the same conclusion: "Gundry should let his theories stand on their own feet, rather than to associate them with someone whose writings repudiate them."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴"Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: I," 293.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 293–96.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 296–98, citing Stonehouse in *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ*, 152 and *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 110 n. 17.

⁹⁷"Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: I," 298.

⁹⁸*Matthew*, 623. In personal correspondence (Nov 1, 1982) Gundry indicated to me that "I still claim that *at one point* Stonehouse opened the door to what I'm doing, indeed, *did* what I'm doing, not that he would endorse my commentary as a whole."

⁹⁹*Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 110.

¹⁰⁰"Gundry on Matthew," 78.

Grant C. Osborne

Osborne's articles on RC are characterized by careful exegesis, an awareness of contemporary scholarship, and a desire to use RC as a tool to understand and proclaim the synoptics as the Word of God.¹⁰¹ John Warwick Montgomery, for one, is convinced that Osborne's desire will not come to fruition. Apparently Montgomery believes that Osborne's position concerning "verbal inexactitude"¹⁰² contradicts the doctrinal statement of the ETS. Despite Montgomery's journalistic flare and commendable zeal for biblical authority, he appears to be wrong at this point, as Silva points out.¹⁰³ It is true, however, that Osborne's position in this article was ambiguous. In his third article Osborne articulated and clarified his position in a way which appears to be compatible with inerrancy and with the position of Stonehouse.¹⁰⁴ Whereas Osborne appeared to assert in his earlier article that Matthew *expanded* Jesus' words, he has since explained that it is his position that Matthew *compressed* Jesus' words. Thus the trinitarian formula of Matt 28:19 is viewed by Osborne not as a Matthean creation but as a Matthean summary of Jesus' words.

The debated issue here is the controversy over *ipsissima verba* or *ipsissima vox* in the *logia Jesu*. Stonehouse¹⁰⁵ and Osborne¹⁰⁶ realize that *ipsissima vox* is sufficient, but Montgomery appears to demand *ipsissima verba*. There is no doubt that Montgomery has gone beyond classical inerrantist statements on this matter.¹⁰⁷ Paul Feinberg's essay, "The Meaning of Inerrancy,"¹⁰⁸ agrees in principle with Osborne but disagrees with the way Osborne applies the principle in Matt 28:18. Two factors should be kept in mind in this debate. First, one should not assume that Jesus always spoke Aramaic, thus automatically denying *ipsissima verba* for Greek gospels.¹⁰⁹ Gundry himself has demonstrated the threefold language milieu of 1st-century Palestine.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹On this last point see "The Evangelical and Redaction Criticism," 322.

¹⁰²Montgomery, "Fuzzification," 221, referring to Osborne, "Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission," 84.

¹⁰³"Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: I," 291 n. 14.

¹⁰⁴"Evangelical and Redaction Criticism," 311, 321.

¹⁰⁵*Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 108.

¹⁰⁶"Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission," 84.

¹⁰⁷See, e.g., the sources listed by Stonehouse, *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 110 n. 17.

¹⁰⁸In *Inerrancy* (ed. N. L. Geisler; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970), 301, 472 n. 98.

¹⁰⁹Osborne, "Redaction Criticism and the Great Commission," 84.

¹¹⁰"The Language Milieu of First Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition," *JBL* 83 (1964) 404ff. Evidence in favor of *ipsissima verba* is also found in *The Use of the Old Testament in Matthew*, 181–83. Here Gundry argues that Matthew took careful notes on Jesus' discourses.

Second, Matthew's wording in 28:18 ostensibly introduces a direct quotation: καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων . . . The redundant or pleonastic participle λέγων, evidently analogous to the Hebrew רָאָה, appears to be a way of introducing a direct quotation.¹¹¹ Thus, one should not summarily dismiss the idea of *ipsissima verba* in Matt 28:18–20.

One wishes that Osborne had been more clear in his "Redactional Trajectories" article concerning the "dynamic, fluid" character of the passion story.¹¹² It is granted that episodes may be added or subtracted so long as they are historical. "This does not mean that the pericopes themselves were necessarily non-historical," Osborne cautions. Perhaps this is pedantic, but one wonders why the qualifying adverb "necessarily" was added.¹¹³ Does the dynamic character of the tradition involve non-historical pericopes or not?¹¹⁴

Finally, Osborne's ICBI paper on genre will be noted. It must be admitted that the paper does a masterful job of synthesizing an enormous amount of literary and historical data. Reading the paper should be an eye-opening experience for biblical scholars. Only one reservation is worth mentioning: Osborne may be too optimistic. It is debatable whether a proper understanding of genre will "provide the strongest possible apology for the doctrine of inerrancy."¹¹⁵ R. B. Allen, one of the respondents to Osborne's paper, expressed his own reservations concerning Osborne's genre-related solution to the problems of the empty tomb narratives.¹¹⁶ Allen's conclusion exhibits commendable caution. "In any event, I am confident that the study of genre will serve the evangelical scholar in being at least a part of the solution to these and other difficulties in the Bible."¹¹⁷ The importance of genre in the current inerrancy debate should not be underestimated, as anyone familiar with Articles XIII and XIV of the ICBI "Affirmations and Denials" can testify. The debate over genre and inerrancy

¹¹¹BDF, §420; N. Turner, *Syntax*, vol. 3 of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* by J. H. Moulton (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963) 155; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (trans. J. Smith; Rome: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1963) §368.

¹¹²"Redactional Trajectories," 81.

¹¹³Cf. the qualifying adverb "probably elucidated the trinitarian background" to Matt 28:18–20 ("Evangelical and Redaction Criticism," 311). If Jesus did not do this, Osborne's position is to be distanced from Stonehouse's and becomes unacceptable.

¹¹⁴After this study was written, personal conversation with Osborne has indicated that he does not doubt the historical character of the pericopes in the passion story. However, due to the vagueness of his published words, this possible difficulty has not been deleted.

¹¹⁵"Genre Criticism," 3–41.

¹¹⁶"A Response to Genre Criticism—Sensus Literalis," *Summit II: Hermeneutics Papers*, A3–10.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, A3–11.

comes to a head in Gundry's Matthew commentary, to which the evaluation now turns.

Robert H. Gundry

It is instructive to compare Gundry's views in both his works on Matthew. In his earlier work, Gundry included a powerful chapter critiquing radical form criticism and defending Matthew's historicity.¹¹⁸ *Gemeindetheologie* is decried; the church is the guardian, not the inventor, of the tradition.¹¹⁹ Gundry discusses the effect of the fulfillment motif on the tradition and concludes that "the bulk of the gospel tradition cannot be traced to a reading of prophecy into the life of Jesus." "The direction is from tradition to prophecy, not vice versa."¹²⁰ This is specifically maintained for the infancy narratives of Matthew 1–2. Gundry denies that OT prophecy was the source of these narratives. Citing Stonehouse, he states that the nativity tradition created the need to see fulfilled prophecy. "The unbridged interval between Jesus' birth and his baptism certainly favors the historicity of Mt 1 and 2," since apocryphal childhood legends would have circulated by this time. "The apologetic, not the apocryphal, dominates Mt 1 and 2."¹²¹ "Something always prevents our seeing evolvement of the gospel tradition from prophecy."¹²²

In another chapter Gundry considers the legitimacy of Matthew's hermeneutic and Messianic hope. It is concluded that Matthew's OT exegesis is not atomistic.¹²³ Rather, typology is a key theme in such passages as the Hos 11:1 citation in Matt 2:15.¹²⁴ Such a typological method originated in the teaching of Jesus.¹²⁵ Such hermeneutical principles "demand the unique genius of the kind of man Jesus must have been—they cannot reasonably be set down to *Gemeindetheologie*."¹²⁶ The very last sentence of the book speaks of divine providence guiding OT history toward Jesus Christ, resulting in "remarkable correspondence between OT history and prophecy and the life and ministry of Jesus."¹²⁷

¹¹⁸ *Use of the Old Testament in Matthew*, 189–204.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 191. Earlier Gundry had argued that Matthew took careful notes on Jesus' ministry which became the basis for the bulk of the gospel tradition (181–83).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 204.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 209–12.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 213–15.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 234.

What can be concluded from comparing these statements with the Matthew commentary? In all fairness, a man has a right to change his mind when he believes the evidence requires it, and this is apparently the case with Gundry. There is a more open approach to *Gemeindetheologie* in the commentary, which so heavily emphasizes the needs of Matthew's church.¹²⁸ The position on the historicity of the infancy narratives has changed.¹²⁹ One wonders why a note-taking eyewitness had to resort to such a heavy dependence upon Mark and Q and upon a non-historical genre.¹³⁰ It almost appears that the needs of the community now dictate a fast and loose approach to the OT, where before a unified typological approach originating with Jesus was advocated.¹³¹ These are definite shifts in position, but these do not prove that the new position is erroneous.

Some methodological criticisms can be made. On the whole, it appears that much more caution would have been in order. The source and form critical assumptions upon which Gundry builds his redactional approach are hardly an immovable foundation. Gundry's use of word frequency statistics is also debatable. Increasingly, more and more scholars are calling into question Markan priority and a documentary view of Q.¹³² Since these foundational matters are debatable, it is not wise to be so assured of one's hypothetical superstructure.¹³³ Also, Gundry's approach appears to be characterized at times by a speculative "over-exegesis" and "over-theologizing."¹³⁴ One wonders whether Matthew would have had *theological* motivation for every minor change he allegedly made in his sources. Granted, evangelicals must handle the gospels as theological documents, but must theology be the exclusive determinant of the phenomena?¹³⁵

On another front, it appears that Gundry has unconsciously diminished the value of knowing the Jesus of history and unintentionally implied the insufficiency of that Jesus. Gundry's approach

¹²⁸ *Matthew*, 5–10, 14–15, 20, 26, 28, 32, etc. Cf. Carson's section on Gundry's "anachronisms" in "Gundry on Matthew," 88–90, and his sentiments on the shift in Gundry's position, 91.

¹²⁹ *Matthew*, 20, 26, 28, 32, 34–37.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, xi, 2. This is defended later, 621–22, 628–29, 636.

¹³¹ Gundry now says historical statements were converted or transformed into prophecies. *Ibid.*, 37, 632–33.

¹³² W. Farmer is no longer nearly alone! See R. L. Thomas, "The Rich Young Man in Matthew," *GTJ* 3 (1982) 235–60, and esp. 246–51 for a survey of the current situation.

¹³³ D. J. Moo's paper, "Matthew and Midrash: An Evaluation of Robert Gundry's Approach" presents a detailed critique of Gundry's source-critical and statistical assumptions and methods.

¹³⁴ Noted by Carson, "Gundry on Matthew," 81. For other examples cf. *Matthew*, 28, 45, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, etc.

¹³⁵ Noted by Carson, "Gundry on Matthew," 72.

implies that Matthew's readers knew all they needed to know about the Jesus of history.¹³⁶ But how could that ever occur? Do believers ever get to know the Jesus of history well enough to need or to desire unhistorical fabrications, pious as these may be? Why does Matthew need to invent theological tales in order to be relevant in a practical way? The God who superintends history has certainly seen to it that Jesus' actual words and deeds have sufficient practical relevance for his people. But, in Gundry's view, Matthew evidently could not find sufficient significance in history, so he had to write fiction in order to meet his church's needs. Is there a subtle existential influence here? This line of reasoning seems to imply a different view of Jesus than that of the apostle John who wrote: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they were written in detail, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books which should be written" (John 21:25 *NASB*). The implication of Gundry's approach seems to be that Jesus did many things which were not all that important. Matthew's readers already knew enough about the Jesus of history. What they needed most was akin to a historical novel about Jesus. This would be more relevant to their needs. Does Gundry's approach imply the insufficiency of the Jesus of history, or are some evangelicals guilty of insisting that Scripture conform only to those standards of writing with which they are comfortable?¹³⁷

It appears, however, that the above objections pale in comparison with the issue of genre and inerrancy. Gundry repeatedly asserts that non-historical genre is compatible with inerrancy.¹³⁸ Few will hesitate to agree with this in principle. However, it would appear that there should be an objective criterion which appears in the text for this to be granted in practice. Jesus' parables have the stamp of real life even though they may not point to any one specific historical incident. To say that "a certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho . . ." (Luke 10:30 *NASB*) is to refer to a type of incident which would historically recur many times. Parabolic genre is easily recognizable. However, by contrast Matthew 1-2 purports to be historical. Any approach which denies the historicity of this portion of Scripture must be based on stronger, more objective, more biblically demonstrable grounds than Gundry has supplied.¹³⁹ Today's "scholarly consensus" on the source criticism of the synoptics is in flux. Without a

¹³⁶Gundry, *Matthew*, 629. Note how Silva hypothetically states an agenda similar to that implied by Gundry, "Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism: II," 295.

¹³⁷This is Gundry's legitimate question to those whom he styles as "conservative historical positivists" (*Matthew*, 629).

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 37, 626-27, 629, 631-32, 637, 639.

¹³⁹Granted, Gundry admits that his view needs to be "supported by adequate exegetical and comparative data" (*ibid.*, 629). His current support is not at all adequate, however.

rather novel adaptation of a theory which may be dying (the two document hypothesis), Gundry's approach will not stand. It is doubtful that we will ever know enough about the synoptic problem and midrash genre to make statements which deny the historicity of a purportedly historical narrative.

Gundry believes that Matthew and his readers were both accustomed to such a genre as he proposes and would not be misled by it.¹⁴⁰ It may be doubtful whether this genre will ever be known sufficiently to support adequately his position. Carson, for one, doubts that Gundry's analysis of midrash genre is sufficient.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, there is a tension between Gundry's position and two of the denial sections from the 1982 Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics:

XIII: WE AFFIRM that awareness of the literary categories, formal and stylistic, of the various parts of Scripture is essential for proper exegesis, and hence we value genre criticism as one of the many disciplines of biblical study.

WE DENY that generic categories which negate historicity may rightly be imposed on biblical narratives which present themselves as factual.

XIV: WE AFFIRM that the biblical record of events, discourses, and sayings, though presented in a variety of appropriate literary forms, corresponds to historical fact.

WE DENY that any event, discourse, or saying reported in Scripture was invented by the biblical writers or by the traditions they incorporated.

There is no doubt that Gundry's position imposes generic categories which negate historicity upon the narrative of Matthew which presents itself as historical. Gundry believes that many events, sayings, and discourses in Matthew were invented by him.

One must admire Gundry's scholarship and frankness. His approach to Matthew attempts to handle both the phenomena of the text and the doctrine of inerrancy. He has not jettisoned the doctrine of biblical authority, or even inerrancy as he defines it.¹⁴² However, his approach is misguided in assumptions, method, and conclusions. His attempt to defend the authority of the Bible may in the long run

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 632, 634-35.

¹⁴¹"Gundry on Matthew," 81-85. Moo's "Matthew and Midrash" also points up some weaknesses in Gundry's approach to genre.

¹⁴²His critique of radical form criticism in *The Use of the OT in Matthew* is supplemented by his expose of the "nakedness of the liberal protestant Bible" in *Matthew*, 623-24. Similarly, his critique of the "hardline antisupernaturalism" in F. W. Beare's recent commentary on Matthew demonstrates his commitment to biblical authority. See *TSF Bulletin* 6 (1982) 19-20.

defeat the authority of the Bible. If we grant *in principle* that purportedly historical biblical events did not actually happen, where are we to draw the line *in practice*? Where is the objective control which prevents us from regarding even the central redemptive facts of the gospels as non-historical?

CURRENT SITUATION OF THE EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The 34th annual meeting of the ETS was held on December 16–18, 1982 at Northeastern Bible College, Essex Fells, NJ. The first major plenary session was a critique of Robert Gundry's *Matthew* by Douglas Moo of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.¹⁴³ Moo stated that Gundry's position was suspect due to his (1) assumption of precise knowledge of Matthew's sources; (2) categorizing too many words as distinctly Matthean; (3) exaggeration of Matthew's editorial work and its theological motivation; (4) classification of Matthew as midrashic in genre. Gundry's lengthy response¹⁴⁴ defended his assumptions as working hypotheses and answered other critics' problems with his midrashic approach. More significantly, Gundry appealed to the OT as containing material similar to Matthew in its embellishment of the facts. Thus both Chronicles and Joshua contain data more theological than historical.¹⁴⁵ This broadening of the non-historical category of material in Scripture is bound to compound the difficulty that many inerrantists already have with Gundry.

At this meeting the issues raised by Gundry's position were also critiqued in various ways in papers by Royce G. Gruenler, Robert L. Thomas, Norman Geisler, and myself. At the last business meeting the ETS leadership presented to the society their decision to sustain Gundry's membership in the ETS. Their reasoning was that since (1) the society's doctrinal statement¹⁴⁶ speaks only to inerrancy not methodology, and (2) Gundry continues to affirm inerrancy, then (3) his membership in the society could not be questioned. Many members who were present applauded this decision, but evidently others were not pleased. The new president of ETS, Louis Goldberg, has encouraged the regional meetings to discuss what, if anything, needs to be done. He has also appointed an *ad hoc* committee to think through the issues and present a recommendation to the next national conference in Dallas, scheduled for December, 1983.

¹⁴³"Matthew and Midrash: An Evaluation of Robert Gundry's Approach."

¹⁴⁴"A Response to Some Criticisms of *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art*."

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 24–26.

¹⁴⁶The statement simply reads "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written and therefore inerrant in the autographs."

Since the 1982 meeting, petitions have been circulated in various schools calling for repudiation of the decision by the ETS leadership to sustain Gundry's membership. There has even been talk of forming a new organization if the ETS fails to act on this issue. Norman Geisler has revised his 1982 paper.¹⁴⁷ His main contention is that orthodoxy is not limited to doctrinal matters but also includes methodological concerns. "*Sincerity* [in assenting to a doctrinal statement] is an insufficient test for orthodoxy. In addition there must also be *conformity* to some objective standard or norm for orthodoxy."¹⁴⁸ Geisler believes that Gundry's method is unorthodox because even though he confesses inerrancy, he denies that events reported by Matthew are literally and historically true. "To deny that what the Bible reports in these passages actually occurred is to deny in effect that the Bible is *wholly* true."¹⁴⁹ Geisler has suggested the following criterion to determine methodological unorthodoxy:

Any hermeneutical or theological method, the logically necessary consequences of which are contrary to or undermine confidence in the complete truthfulness of all of Scripture, is unorthodox.¹⁵⁰

Geisler's zeal for inerrancy and his opinion that Gundry's approach is not compatible with traditional orthodoxy is appreciated. However, at least two major concerns surface in the paper. First, Geisler does not appear to have caught the subtlety of Gundry's argument. Gundry does not deny what, in his view, the Bible affirms since he does not believe Matthew intended for certain parts of his gospel to be taken as historically true. Gundry affirms the truth of all that Matthew reports, but he does not believe that all of Matthew is reported history. Thus Geisler overlooks what must be considered by all to be the genius of Gundry's argument: authorial intent. Second, it also appears that Geisler's criterion for methodological unorthodoxy is unworkable. Evangelicals who staunchly hold to inerrancy have disagreed for years over which portions of Scripture to interpret "literally" or "figuratively." For example, many members of ETS, and perhaps Geisler himself, would deny that the events of the creation week and the flood of Noah are to be taken as literally and historically true. However, advocates of the "day-age" theory of creation and the "local flood theory" tend to undermine *my* confidence in the *complete* truthfulness of *all* of Scripture. I am arguing in this manner simply to

¹⁴⁷The title is now "Methodological Unorthodoxy." The paper compares the approaches of P. Jewett, J. Rogers, and R. Gundry.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 14.

show that evangelicals who hold to inerrancy will never be able to agree on how to enforce such a methodological criterion. The answer to the problems of the ETS appears to be in another direction: it must define more clearly what it means by inerrancy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Evangelicals are currently involved in a dispute which may be likened to the proverbial saying about "throwing out the baby with the bathwater."¹⁵¹ Some evangelists believe there is no baby in the bathwater (RC is unusable). Others believe the bathwater is very dirty, but there is a baby in there somewhere (cautious use of RC). Still others are persuaded that the water itself is rather clean (thoroughgoing RC). The value of RC as a tool for the study of Scripture should not be overestimated or underestimated. The relative infancy of the discipline as well as the lack of certainty (or even probability) of some of its necessary assumptions should cause it to be implemented carefully. These weaknesses and uncertainties render untenable any attempt to deny the historicity of purportedly historical material in the gospels. The warning of William Barclay, certainly no friend of inerrancy, should not go unnoticed: "I need not deny that the gospels are theology, but I abandon their history only at my peril."¹⁵²

It appears certain that Robert Gundry's approach to RC is seriously flawed. However, this does not mean that the discipline itself is unorthodox. Who will doubt that the evangelists had specific purposes as they wrote? Though there will always be difficulties regarding hypothetical *external* sources, there is no doubt that the principle of authorial intent *within* each gospel must be given attention. Robert H. Stein said it well:

Luke in his prologue tells us that he had a specific purpose for writing his Gospel. An evangelical hermeneutic must keep foremost in mind therefore the purpose of the divinely inspired author. This indicates that redaction criticism, and here I mean primarily the aims and goals of the discipline not the various presuppositions that various scholars bring with them to it, is not merely an option but a divine mandate for evangelical scholarship.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹See the fine essay by D. A. Carson, "Redaction Criticism: On the Legitimacy and Illegitimacy of a Literary Tool," *Scripture and Truth* (ed. D. A. Carson and J. D. Woodbridge; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983). The whole article (pp. 119-42; 376-81) exhibits much wisdom in advocating a cautious use of RC. The discussion about the baby and the bathwater occurs on p. 376 n. 3.

¹⁵²*Introduction to the First Three Gospels* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 249.

¹⁵³"Luke 1:1-4 and *Traditionsgeschichte*" (unpublished paper presented to the ETS, Dec 1982) 14.

Granted, then, that there is a baby in the bathwater, what can be done to save the baby while disposing of the bathwater? More pointedly, what courses of action are open to the ETS? If nothing is done, there will certainly be a schism in the organization. Also, there is the constant need to clarify doctrinal positions as formerly clear, univocal terms become equivocal and potential "weasel words." This is not the first time the ETS has been exercised concerning inerrancy and biblical criticism. A perusal of the back numbers of the society's *Bulletin* and *Journal* reveals over twenty articles dealing with these issues and at least three numbers which are given over completely to them.¹⁵⁴ It is interesting that whenever an article has been printed which did not seem to be in agreement with the society's position, ample space was given for response.¹⁵⁵ The *Journal* also printed the ICBI's "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy."¹⁵⁶ All this leads one to believe that the current difficulties are not new but are a recurrence of symptoms which have troubled the ETS all along. It would appear that any group of Christians which maintains high doctrinal standards will have pressure to lower them. Such difficulties have caused members to drop out of the ETS before¹⁵⁷ and undoubtedly will do so again. Nevertheless, the ETS must perpetuate its historic and biblical position.

It has been argued above that Norman Geisler's methodological criterion is unworkable. It appears that instead of debating methods of exegesis, the ETS should strengthen its confessional base. I see no good reason why the ICBI's 1978 "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy" should not be adopted by the ETS as a clarification of its understanding of the term 'inerrancy.' However, if this course of action is not wise, the ETS should draw up its own strengthened statement. Another issue concerns the ICBI's more recent (1982) "Chicago Statement on Biblical Hermeneutics." As shown previously, Articles XIII and XIV contradict Robert Gundry's approach to Matthew. It would appear that this contradiction should be resolved in some fashion. At issue is the historicity of the gospels. Liberal scholars have been denying the historicity of certain events in the gospels for years. Gundry's *conclusions* are similar, though his *method* differs in its view of an *inspired* authorial intent to embellish history. It is doubtful whether

¹⁵⁴See *BETS* 3:4; 6:1; 9:1.

¹⁵⁵*BETS* 11 (1968) 139-46; *JETS* 12 (1969) 67-72; 18 (1975) 37-40, 93-103; 20 (1977) 289-305.

¹⁵⁶*JETS* 21 (1978) 289-96.

¹⁵⁷See Gordon H. Clark's 1965 presidential address, "The Evangelical Theological Society Tomorrow," *BETS* 9 (1966) 3-11. Clark's conclusion regarding the doctrinal integrity of the society is in the form of a parody on a familiar hymn: "Let goods and kindred go, some membership also" (p. 11).

Gundry's approach can be reconciled with the historic protestant understanding of biblical inerrancy.¹⁵⁸ And that position is precisely what the ETS claims to uphold. Changing views of the specific biblical phenomena should not be construed to contradict the Bible's general assertions about itself.¹⁵⁹

ADDENDUM: THE CASE OF J. RAMSEY MICHAELS

As this study goes to press, Dr. J. Ramsey Michaels has recently resigned from his NT professorship at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary.¹⁶⁰ His book *Servant and Son: Jesus in Parable and Gospel*,¹⁶¹ was judged by the faculty senate to be in violation of the school's statement of faith on biblical inerrancy and the person of Christ. The book's admitted emphasis is on the humanity of Christ, but Gordon officials concluded that Michaels went too far in his critical methodology and in his one-sided approach to Christ's person. Earlier Michaels had written a perceptive essay, "Inerrancy or Verbal Inspiration? An Evangelical Dilemma."¹⁶²

The controversy here appears to be similar to that engendered by Robert Gundry's commentary on Matthew. Michaels's use of critical methodology resulted in his questioning the historical setting or details given to certain events in certain gospel accounts. Among these are John's testimony of seeing the dove-like Spirit descending on Jesus (John 1:32-34) and the location and nature of Jesus' temptation (Matt 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-13; Luke 4:1-13).¹⁶³ His book contains many statements as to the historical "probability" of events actually happening in the manner the gospels assert they happened. Nevertheless, Michaels continues to profess his assent to inerrancy. It

¹⁵⁸It is interesting to note that the evangelical R. N. Longenecker, at the 1982 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, characterized Gundry's position as "more conservative than the evangelicals on Mark and Q and more liberal than the liberals on Matthew." See G. R. Osborne, "Studies in Matthew: Professional Societies Evaluate New Evangelical Directions," *TSF Bulletin* 6 (1983) 15. From a more liberal view, L. Cope agrees with Gundry against the traditional historicist inerrancy position, but disagrees with Gundry's inspired midrashic approach. According to Cope, Gundry's "solution is worse than the problem." See *ATR* 65 (1983) 219.

¹⁵⁹See J. W. Montgomery, "The Approach of New Shape Roman Catholicism to Scriptural Inerrancy: A Case Study for Evangelicals," *BETS* 10 (1967) 209-25. See esp. 221-25, which are relevant to the current debate.

¹⁶⁰See "Publish and Perish: Two Seminaries Face Doctrinal Conflicts," *Eternity* (July-August, 1982) 9, 46; and "The Issue of Biblical Authority Brings a Scholar's Resignation," *Christianity Today* (July 15, 1983) 35-36, 38.

¹⁶¹Atlanta: John Knox, 1981.

¹⁶²*Inerrancy and Common Sense*, ed. R. R. Nicole and J. R. Michaels (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 49-70.

¹⁶³*Servant and Son*, 34-36, 54-65.

is his belief that the issue is hermeneutics, and that inerrantists have assumed certain unnecessary and narrow restrictions.

This episode underscores all the more the current crisis summarized and evaluated in this study. It appears that the issue is not hermeneutics in general but historicity in particular. Evangelicals are beginning to assert in essence that what the Bible says actually happened, but it need not have happened at the time or in the place or in the manner the Bible says it happened. It is doubtful whether such a de-historicizing approach is compatible with the doctrine of inerrancy. Yet those who disdain current de-historicizing approaches should not go to the opposite extremes of ignoring historical difficulties or eliminating them by outlandish harmonizations.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴For a survey of the difficulty, see R. T. France, "Evangelical Disagreements about the Bible," *Churchman* 96 (1982) 226-40.

REVIEW ARTICLE

*Creation Science and the Physical Universe**

JOHN C. WHITCOMB

What is Creation Science? by Henry M. Morris and Gary E. Parker. San Diego: Creation-Life Publishers, Inc., 1982. Pp. 306. \$7.95. Paper.

In this significant landmark of creationist literature, Henry M. Morris and Gary E. Parker combine their scientific skills to undermine the credibility of evolutionism. In the previous issue of this journal, the reviewer surveyed Dr. Parker's contribution in chaps. 1-3, "The Life Sciences." In the present article, the final three chaps. written by Dr. Morris ("The Physical Sciences") are analyzed, followed by a theological perspective on the entire volume.

"CREATION AND THE LAWS OF SCIENCE"

In chap. 4, Morris skillfully ties the biological and physical sciences together into one gigantic unity. "Living systems must all function in a *physical* world. Biological processes, while far more complex than physical processes, nevertheless must operate also in conformity to the physico-chemical laws which govern nonliving systems. . . . So the question of origins is not merely a biological question, to be resolved by biologists. . . . The creation/evolution issue is one of cosmic dimensions" (p. 154).

In spite of the commonly heard assertion that creationism is only one of several possible alternatives to evolutionism, the only two possible models of origins are evolution or creation. Evolution contemplates eternal, self-existent, self-contained, natural processes continuing to happen today in a mass/energy, space/time continuum without plan or design (i.e., accidental, by chance). Religions that accommodate this world-and-life view include Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taoism (p. 156).

On the other hand, creationism involves a supernatural design and unique, supernatural events to bring the universe and its various components into existence. Religions that presuppose this model include orthodox Judaism, Islam, and Christianity.

*The reviewer appreciates the assistance of Dr. Donald B. DeYoung, Professor of Physics, Grace College, in the preparation of this article.

With regard to processes, "the creation model predicts only net decreases (for the universe as a whole)," but "stipulates nothing concerning the *rate* of decrease," for "this may be almost zero in times of peace and calm and very high during great catastrophes" (p. 161). To put the contrast in different terms, the creation model "suggests that there should be a conservational and disintegrative principle operating in nature," while, "if evolution is true, then there must be some innovative and integrative principle operating in the natural world which develops structure out of randomness and higher organization from lower" (p. 163).

Several clear and concise diagrams clarify an otherwise difficult discussion concerning the relevance of the First and Second Laws of Thermodynamics to evolutionism and creationism. The Second Law, or Entropy (in-turning) Law, measures the deterioration of energy in a working, structured, or programmed system (p. 166). "Time's Arrow" always points downward in a system that is closed to outside, intelligent energy.

The frequently-heard claim that the earth is not a closed system, because it is "open" to the sun's energy, is effectively refuted as an "inexcusably naive" argument (p. 171). In fact, "an influx of heat energy into an open system (such as solar heat entering the earth-system)" actually decreases the order of a system, and thus aggravates the fundamental conflict between entropy and evolutionism.

Why is it, then, that some systems seem to go uphill in complexity? "There are many systems, especially artificial systems (e.g., buildings, machinery) and living systems (e.g., plants, animals) which do indeed manifest, for a long time, an increasing degree of complexity or information. . . . They are open systems, of course, and do draw on external sources of energy, or information, or order, to build up their own structure. Even though their (internal) entropy is decreased (for awhile), it is at the expense of an overall increase of entropy in the larger system outside, all fully in accord with the Second Law. But . . . most open systems do *not* increase in order. Having an open system is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition" (p. 172).

One of the most significant contributions of Morris to the current debate is his insistence that the openness of the earth to the sun's energy is totally insufficient to bring about "an increasing order unless it also possesses a highly specific program to direct its growth and a complex mechanism (or 'motor,' or 'membrane') to convert the sun's energy into the specific work of building its growth" (p. 175).

While many evolutionists might wish that time's arrow could go up as well as down, "wishing does not make it so, except in children's fairy tales!" (p. 186). Two internationally recognized authorities on thermodynamics who have not succumbed to such fairy tales are Sonntag and Van Wylen, who see "the second law of thermodynamics as man's description of the prior and continuing work of a creator, who also holds the answer to the future destiny of man and the universe" (*Fundamentals of Classical Thermodynamics* [2d ed.; New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973] 248).

"CATASROPHISM IN GEOLOGY"

In the second of his three chaps., Morris is at his best, bringing his many years of expertise in hydraulic engineering to bear upon the question of the origin of sedimentary and fossil strata. The very evidence that evolutionists most frequently appeal to, namely, the fossil evidence, turns out upon close inspection to be a virtual disaster for their theory of earth history. One prominent paleontologist, David B. Kitts, is quoted as admitting that "despite the bright promise that paleontology provides a means of 'seeing' evolution, it has presented some nasty difficulties for evolutionists, the most notorious of which is the presence of 'gaps' in the fossil record" (p. 191). Other scientists, such as Valentine, Campbell, Stanley, Ridley, and Raup, are quoted to similar effect (pp. 191-94).

Thus, while most evolutionists still feel that "fossils must provide the *only* real evidence for evolution," some of the most prominent young scientists are insisting that "fossils provide *no* real evidence for evolution. Well, creationists think they are *both* right! The only *real* evidence is the fossil record, and it *doesn't* support evolution" (p. 195). This constitutes a staggering blow to a theory that all but dominates our secular (and most religious) institutions of higher learning.

Actually, the only place in the world where the evolutionary order of fossil-bearing rock formations can be found is in textbooks (p. 196). The average depth of sedimentary rock worldwide is about one mile (p. 198), and much of it is "upside down" from an evolutionary perspective, not only in the Rockies and Alps, but even in the Appalachians (p. 200). And, there is practically no evidence of violent overthrusting to cause such a reversed order. Also, any kind of rock can be found in any layer (p. 201). Even the appeal to "index fossils" to date the sedimentary rocks is now being admitted to be essentially circular reasoning by such men as David Kitts and Ronald West (p. 208).

In the light of all this, the catastrophic model of earth history is vastly superior. As young geologists such as Gould and Ager are turning to "neo-catastrophism" in the form of "punctuated equilibrium" to reconcile the fossil record with evolutionism, they finally end up with such absurdities as "revolutionary evolutionism" (p. 210). In fact, Gould goes so far as to admit that Charles Lyell, the "father of uniformitarianism," actually "imposed his imagination upon the evidence" (p. 211), a point which creationists have insisted on for over a hundred years.

What, then, is the catastrophic (or cataclysmic) model of geology? First, as Derek Ager, head of the Geology Department at Swansea University in England, admits, every sedimentary formation requires a catastrophic explanation (p. 215). Second, there is no worldwide time-gap in the geologic column. Thus, "the entire sedimentary crust fits the description of the Catastrophic Model—continuous, cataclysmic hydraulic sedimentary activity throughout the column" (p. 217).

The third prediction of this model is that normally we would expect "simpler" organisms to be found at the bottom of the column, representing their ecological zone, while more complex forms would be found in the upper strata, though exceptions should be anticipated.

"HOW AND WHEN DID THE WORLD BEGIN?"

In his final chap., Morris insists that the date of creation is a distinct issue from the fact of creation, even though evolutionism would be squeezed out of existence by a young-earth concept (p. 220). "There is only one basic question, that of creation or evolution, but there are two important corollary questions: (1) catastrophism or uniformitarianism; (a) recent or old origin" (p. 220). In this final chapter the second corollary question is answered.

The popular Big-Bang Theory of the origin of the universe is shown to be impossible. The supposed background radiation from this cosmic primeval explosion is not uniform in any direction and the matter which scattered throughout the universe from it is non-uniform also. "It has never been adequately explained how cosmic 'lumps' such as stars and galaxies could be generated from the homogeneous energies of the hypothetical explosion" (p. 224). In fact, as one evolutionist analyses the problem, "The standard Big Bang model does not give rise to lumpiness. . . . If you apply the laws of physics to this model, you get a universe that is uniform, a cosmic vastness of evenly distributed atoms with no organization of any kind" (p. 225, quoting IBM's Philip E. Seiden). Thus evolutionary astronomers are now confronted with the "lumpy Big Bang problem"! Even worse, uniform radial motion from a supposed Big Bang "could never give rise to curvilinear motion. How, then, could the linearly expanding gas soon be converted into orbiting galaxies and planetary systems?" (p. 226).

Thus, the Big Bang Theory is essentially destroyed by the Second Law of Thermodynamics and by the principle of conservation of angular momentum, even as the Steady-State Theory of Sir Fred Hoyle was destroyed by the First Law of Thermodynamics.

It is indeed a challenge to keep up with changing ideas regarding the Big Bang Theory. Since the publication of *What Is Creation Science?*, an "inflationary universe" has been popularized by Alan Guth of M.I.T. This proposed cosmogony begins with an extreme expansion of the early universe. One early form of the model results in the present universe coming into existence within "just" 30,000 years of the alleged explosion (cf. *Science News* 123 [Feb 12, 1983] 108). This model is of current interest because it solves some of the problems pointed out by Morris. Unfortunately, the model also results in a whole new set of problems.

By infinite contrast, "the Creation Model is supported by three obvious facts: (1) the universe is immensely vast and complex; (2) as long as men have been observing the stars and galaxies, they have been stable with no evolutionary changes ever observed since the beginning of recorded history; (3) all *observed* changes (e.g., novas, meteorites, etc.) represent disintegration processes, not evolutionary processes" (p. 228). Thus, the immensity, complexity, variety, stability and disintegration of the stellar heavens all point to a Creator.

Our solar system is seen to be so complex that no unified evolutionary theory can remotely begin to explain it. In fact, as one frustrated evolutionist exclaimed, "The conclusion in the present state of the subject would be that the system cannot exist"! (p. 231, quoting Harold Jeffreys). The probability of life evolving on this earth by chance is zero (pp. 235, 238); and there is "not one iota of real scientific evidence for biological life anywhere in the universe except on earth" (p. 233), thus confirming the suspicions of many that radio telescopes, designed at great expense to listen for messages from outer space, have been "a complete exercise in futility" (p. 234).

Morris briefly discusses the so-called "anthropic principle" (p. 235), but much more should now be said concerning this. The term describes the fact that the universe is filled with exceedingly improbable "coincidences." If any one of a large number of constants or laws were slightly varied, neither life nor stability of matter would occur in the physical universe. The secular reaction to the anthropic principle shows the extremes to which men will go in denying the Creator: it has been proposed that there are actually an infinite number of universes. We just happen to live in the particular universe in which the natural laws are accidentally balanced!

Finally, in preparation for his spectacular list of sixty-eight independent calculations applying to the entire earth that demonstrate its comparatively recent origin, Morris explains that (1) decay curves are exponential, not linear; (2) decay curves may include catastrophic interludes which radically speed the decay; and (3) decay curves may cover an ever shorter time period if we do not know the initial conditions (pp. 242–52).

The powerful force of Morris' argumentation leaves the reviewer incapable of understanding how any completely unprejudiced mind can avoid his conclusion: "the weight of all the scientific evidence favors the view that the earth is quite young, far too young for life and man to have arisen by an evolutionary process. The origin of all things by direct creation—already necessitated by many other scientific considerations—is therefore also indicated by chronometric data" (p. 252).

A THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

But this brings us to the ultimate issue in the creation/evolution debate: does anyone in this world's system of thinking have a completely unprejudiced and unbiased mind to look objectively at all the data and the logical implications of the data? The reviewer is convinced that no one is thus qualified. Even more serious, the scientific, mathematical, and logical consistency of creationism is being continually suppressed by man's depraved will under Satanic dominion (Rom 8:7; 1 Cor 2:14; 2 Cor 3:4–5; Eph 2:1–3; 4:18, 6:12). The problem, therefore, is not with the evidences, but with man's spiritual response to evidences that speak clearly of the Creator. "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who suppress the truth in unrighteousness, because that which is known about God is evident within them; for God made it evident to them" (Rom 1:18–19).

Can scientific creationism be detached from biblical and theological creationism and made to function effectively in the hearts of men on its own strength? That is a major question that creationists must face today. Morris and Parker are convinced that "scientific creationism is *not* based on Genesis or any other religious teaching" (p. 263).

Two serious limitations must be faced. First, when creationism is isolated from biblical theology it is reduced to a mere scientific theory which, in the very nature of science, offers no ultimately authoritative answers or assurances to men. Parker states that "science is prohibited by its own methodology from making any statements about ultimate purpose. . . . We are so humbly limited in both space and time that we can never finally prove or disprove either of these two ultimate models" (pp. 149, 157, 162).

Thus, "the creation/evolution debate can never be completely settled by scientific evidence alone. There will always be new evidence to investigate and new concepts to apply. Each generation will have to reevaluate its concept of origins in terms of current knowledge. 'The debate goes on.'" (p. 143; cf. pp. 42, 107, 141, 144-45). Probability, not certainty, is all that can be hoped for (p. 157). Purely scientific cosmogony and cosmology would therefore seem to be locked forever into the ultimate frustration of "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth" (2 Tim 3:7).

Second, creation science, when isolated from the wider context of special revelation in Scripture, is devoid of theological identity from a Christian perspective. One might just as well be a Jewish or even a Muslim creation scientist as far as this model is concerned (pp. 156, 265), for such questions as creation or evolution, catastrophism or uniformitarianism, and recent or ancient origin "can be evaluated strictly as scientific models, without reference to their theological, philosophical, or moral implications" (p. 220). Thus, some people who are "without religion see creation [as being] compatible with science" (p. 149). In fact, "not all creationists believe in a personal God" (p. xii).

The reviewer suspects that many Bible-believing Christians who devote much time and effort to creation-science activities have not carefully pondered the implications of such statements as these. Can creationism retain its full power and beauty if it sheds its theological garments? By avoiding any mention of the Bible, or of Christ as the Creator, we may be able to gain equal time in some public school classrooms. But the cost would seem to be exceedingly high, for absolute certainty is lost and the spiritual impact that only the living and powerful Word of God can give (Heb 4:12) is blunted. Granted, "*Biblical* creationism [as well as biblical prayer and worship] should be taught in churches" (p. 264) and church-related schools. But does this mean that Christians in public schools have fulfilled their God-given responsibility as witnesses to Him when they promote and endorse a religionless two-model approach in the science classroom? Is this a truly spiritual achievement?

It is not essentially a question of biblical orthodoxy. Morris and Parker have not compromised Christian doctrines, such as the absolute inerrancy and perspicuity of Scripture. The issue is not theological compromise but rather evangelistic methodology. Should our theological convictions be obscured temporarily and thus compartmentalized in order to reach the millions

of students who are being systematically brainwashed in evolutionary humanism in public schools and universities and who would otherwise be deprived of any exposure to creationism?

Or, should we rather view this tax-supported educational system as a vast mission field to be approached from the perspective and with the guaranteed resources of the Great Commission (Matt 28:18–20)? Can we really “reach” such an unregenerate community, a significant segment of Satan’s kingdom, without the impact of the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:27)? Are we wrestling here against mere “flesh and blood,” or, rather, “against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places” (Eph 6:12)?

Throughout the book, the reviewer senses the opposite pull of pure scientific objectivity on the one hand, and a moral, even spiritual, appeal to the evolutionist on the other hand. “He should ask himself whether something other than the facts of nature is influencing his thinking about origins” (p. v). It is “bigoted for certain scientists to exclude [creation] from the domain of science” (p. xiii). “Sooner or later, *everyone* will need to know these evidences and arguments” (p. xvi). All scientists “must be willing to follow the evidence wherever it might lead” (pp. 18, 144). Is creation superior to evolution? “The concept of a creator as the explanation of the scientific evidence” is “eminently satisfying, both intellectually and emotionally” (p. 155). Furthermore, science “can help us with this ultimately very personal decision. But, as finite beings, we must look at the world with eyes wide open . . . and a heart that listens to the other fellow. *Think about it!*” (p. 150).

When the unbeliever is challenged simply to “think” about the natural universe, with no Christ-centered and redemptive perspective being provided through special revelation in Scripture, the result is always negative. As a former unregenerate evolutionist, the reviewer bears personal testimony to the force of God’s analysis of the dilemma of human depravity: “The wicked, in the haughtiness of his countenance, does not seek Him. All his thoughts are, ‘There is no God’” (Ps 10:4).

Man’s problem, then, is not a lack of thinking, but a rejection of Christ-centered thinking in response to his grace. “The Gentiles also walk in the futility of their mind, being darkened in their understanding, excluded from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardness of their heart” (Eph 4:17–18). “And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light; for their deeds were evil” (John 3:19).

The brilliantly illuminating creation message is a vital part of Biblical revelation—but it is an incomplete part in and of itself. Men desperately need the good news, not just more light. Without the gospel of the completed work of Christ upon the cross, the creation witness can only condemn sinful man, for he will always “suppress the truth [of the Creator God] in unrighteousness” and thus remain “without excuse” under “the wrath of God” (Rom 1:18–20).

Ultimately, ethical decisions in science, as in interpersonal decisions (such as a mother deciding whether or not to abort the unborn person within her womb), must rest upon the presupposition of God’s design of the universe, not only physically, but especially morally and spiritually. Science and

divinely-revealed religion/ethics cannot be isolated without inviting long-range disaster (e.g., Nazi Germany, Communist Russia). God has commanded us to do everything (including our science) "to the glory of God" (1 Cor 10:31). We are indeed commanded to conduct ourselves harmlessly (Matt 10:16), graciously (Col 4:6), and "with wisdom toward outsiders" (Col 4:5), not unnecessarily offending men with our manner and methods of presenting Christ's Gospel. Nevertheless, we are also commanded to "proclaim Him, admonishing every man and teaching every man with all wisdom, that we may present every man complete in Christ" (Col 1:28).

Biblical theology, then, so far from being a hindrance and an embarrassment to scientific creationism (e.g., "many have considered it to be simply religion in disguise" [p. iii; cf. 264]), is actually its only source of final authority, power, and victory.

What is Creation Science? is, in this reviewer's opinion, the finest *scientific* critique of evolutionism now available. Henry Morris and Gary Parker are men of deep Christian conviction and commitment. They have written other books which testify eloquently to this fact (cf. Morris, *King of Creation*, chap. five). It may be hoped, therefore, that they will some day be led to produce a volume that combines special and general revelation into one balanced unit, for the glory of Christ our Creator, who is also our Lord, Saviour, and Coming King.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Christianity and the Age of the Earth

DONALD B. DEYOUNG

Christianity and the Age of the Earth, by Davis A. Young. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982. Pp. 188. \$7.95.

There is a profusion of recent books and articles dealing with the creation-evolution issue. Many of them mount a vigorous attack against the literal biblical creation view. This is an expected reaction from non-Christians, since the creation movement has seriously challenged humanistic philosophy and science. There is yet another group of critics of literal creation, this time *within* the Christian camp. These dissenters seek to modify the creationist position as it is understood today. Among the leaders of this group is Dr. Davis A. Young. His first book *Creation and the Flood* appeared in 1977, and is largely an attempt to discredit “flood geology” as presented by Whitcomb and Morris in 1961, in *The Genesis Flood*. Young’s efforts have continued with the publication of articles in *Eternity* and *Christianity Today*.

Davis Young is a geologist trained at Princeton, Pennsylvania State, and Brown Universities. For the past two years he has served on the faculty of Calvin College as associate professor of Geology. He is also an elder in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod. Davis Young enjoys the distinctive privilege of having had as his father Edward J. Young, who taught OT at Westminster Theological Seminary from 1936 until his death in 1968. He wrote many books during his lifetime, including several studies on Genesis. As his father before him, Davis Young emphasizes that he believes in the infallible, inerrant word of God. He declares that the Bible is true in matters of science and history, just as in matters of theology (p. 163).

Young’s purpose in writing *Christianity and the Age of the Earth* is similar to that of his first book. He seeks to establish conclusively the antiquity of the earth (p. 150). He attempts to expose the young-earth view of creation as “unscientific and not necessarily biblical” (p. 10). Even stronger, he accuses those with a literal-day creation view (“creationists”) of being untruthful with scientific data (p. 162) and harmful to evangelism (p. 163). On this basis, Young opposes the efforts of creationists to promote their view of earth history. He admits that a literal 24-hour creation day is one possible interpretation that is faithful to the text (p. 161). However, he rules it out on the basis

of geologic history. Instead, Young promotes the day-age view of Genesis 1 (p. 63) in a form sometimes called "progressive creation." The six creation days are taken as long time periods which may have overlapped each other by various amounts. The seventh day, on which the Lord rested, still continues incompleting through this age. Miracles are considered to have had little if any bearing on geologic history (p. 143). Young is unsure about the magnitude of the Genesis flood, concluding that it could well have been a "very large local inundation" (p. 14). He believes that no significant physical remains of the flood have yet been discovered.

Young's view of organic evolution is one of limited acceptance, as explained in an October 8, 1982, *Christianity Today* article. He sees no problem with the evolutionary change of nonhuman plants and animals, once the first stages were created. With man, Young feels that the theory of evolution has gone too far and he favors direct creation by God. However, the door remains open to an evolutionary view of man which could somehow be made to fit the biblical record. The many ancient "ape-man" finds remain an unsolved problem for him.

Christianity and the Age of the Earth is divided into three major sections. First, there is a summary of historical views regarding the age of the earth. Second, selected scientific data is reviewed regarding age determinations. Finally, philosophical and apologetic conclusions are drawn from science and scripture. Each of these sections will be considered in order.

Young gives an excellent summary of the history of beliefs regarding origins and earth chronology. Detailed chapters review the thoughts of the Greeks, the early church, and past scientists. There is a wealth of fascinating quotes regarding the mystery of fossils and the early debates on earth history. Regarding the earth's age, Young concludes that "until the end of the eighteenth century, Christians were virtually unanimous in the belief that the earth was six thousand years old according to the teaching of scripture" (p. 13). Nevertheless, Young insists that he is "in full agreement with historic Christianity" (p. 10). Modern geology has simply shown that the naive literal reading of Genesis is wrong. Early Christians did not know any better, but we *do* know better today, in Young's mind, and he appears to lose patience with those who still hold to a literal creation view. He finally calls this view a "fantasy" whose promotion must be stopped (p. 152).

One other item in the historical section is of interest. Young mentions the biblical chronology studies of Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Lightfoot. To Young's credit, he honors these men for their scholarship, in contrast to the sarcasm and incredulity about these men one often encounters in the literature. Young might also have included the name of scientists such as Kepler, one of the greatest astronomers of all time and a contemporary of Ussher. Kepler made similar studies of OT genealogies and also arrived at a young age for the creation.

The lengthy center section of Young's book concerns the collection and analysis of scientific data. It is largely an attempt to refute creationist arguments for a recent creation. Young's specialized knowledge in the area of igneous and metamorphic rocks is evident. His limitations in certain other areas are also obvious. He declares, for example, that pressure and temperature changes "have no effect whatever on decay constants" of radioactive

elements (p. 97). However, both of these variables have been used, for decades, to slightly perturb the decay rates of many isotopes. This particular point involves the possible acceleration of radiometric decay in the past and results in an increase in the apparent aging of rocks, admittedly uncertain at this time. Young also scoffs at the suggestion by creationists that increased cosmic radiation in the past may have speeded up the decay of radioactive elements. He does not believe that such radiation could affect rocks, since "cosmic rays do not penetrate very far into the ground" (p. 97). However, energetic cosmic rays are indeed detected in the deepest mines and caves. Such radiation from space has even been suspected of killing off much fauna on the seafloor during the "Permian extinction" of life, a catastrophe that creationists associate with the Genesis flood.

The earth's decaying magnetic field has been proposed as an evidence for a recent creation. Popularized by Thomas G. Barnes, the argument is that the earth's field would have been lethally large in a world more than 10,000 years old. Young analyzes the problem and concludes that the field is probably generated "by some sort of self-sustaining dynamo mechanism" (p. 119). That is, the magnetic field is only temporarily decaying; it will revive itself again and therefore fits geologic time. But this assumed dynamo is just the unsupported mechanism the creationists challenge. Young offers some archaeological magnetic field measurements that appear to differ from Barnes's predictions. Such conflicts show the endless complexities that always arise in discussions of scientific data. One can readily find scientific interpretations or data that will support either an ancient earth *or* a recent creation. It is disappointing that Young gives no update on the earth's decaying magnetic field beyond 1965. New data has been available since 1979 from the American satellite Magsat. The field has now been found to be decaying even faster than was earlier thought. Extrapolation shows that the field strength may reach zero within 1,200 years, with grave consequences for mankind before then. If nothing else, the disappearing magnetic field places a severe time limit on the future of our environment.

Young claims that "creationists have ignored data when convenient and have been very selective in the use of other data" (p. 162). This accusation could be applied almost universally. The value of any writing is to promote a particular viewpoint and with a nearly infinite variety of possible views on any subject, much must necessarily be excluded. This is especially true in the realm of science with its growing reservoir of data. Young himself leaves out certain points that one would expect to find in a book on the age of the earth. For example, he does not explain the research work of Robert Gentry. This well-known scientist has challenged the assumed slow cooling of igneous earth materials. Gentry presents data which suggests an instantaneous creation of the earth's crust. Gentry's conclusions are recognized by the geologic community and are thus far unchallenged. Nor does Young mention the work of Clark and Voss. These scientists have published significant studies in creationist literature indicating that the earth's vast sedimentary layers may have been deposited in just one year of universal flooding. Young also omits any mention of the canopy theory. The great significance of a pre-flood vapor canopy to any study of earth history has been demonstrated in Joseph Dillow's book, *The Waters Above*.

Young accuses creationists of "beating a dead horse" regarding uniformitarianism versus catastrophism (p. 142). The former term refers to present-day physical processes as adequate to account for all past changes of the earth and universe. In contrast, catastrophism recognizes unique global cataclysms in earth's history, such as the Genesis flood. The common presupposition that "the present is the key to the past" has indeed been challenged, particularly in *The Genesis Flood*. However, Young claims that geologists do not really believe this idea any longer. To prove his point, he lists several geology references that promote limited catastrophism. It is interesting that all of these references date from the 1970s. Secular geology has indeed slowly begun to acknowledge catastrophic events in history, although the uniformitarian perspective is still prevalent. Young himself acknowledges that creationists have made scientists "more aware of the catastrophic aspects of nature and the role they play in geology" (p. 83).

Young counsels Christians to "relax and stop being afraid that somehow or other some scientific evidence will disprove the Bible" (p. 147). The creationist agrees with these sentiments. Young also states that a muzzle should not be put on any Christian in expressing his views (p. 151). He even admits that contemporary science may be wrong: "It is entirely possible that in the future some new discoveries may be made that will lead the scientific community to abandon belief in the great age of the earth" (p. 149). Following this statement, however, there is no doubt that Young does indeed want to put a muzzle on the literal-day creation view. The primary motive for writing *Christianity and the Age of the Earth* suddenly becomes very clear. Young fears the possible offense to those scientists who hold to the secular view of modern geology (p. 152). To protect them, he tells the creationists with their contrary view of earth history to be quiet! Young reasons that "creationism and Flood geology have put a serious roadblock in the way of unbelieving scientists" (p. 152). Certainly, all will agree that creationists should not concentrate on scientific data and debate to the exclusion of a clear gospel presentation. However, if all intellectual barriers to the gospel must first be removed or conceded, we will surely fail. We must first seek to win the hearts of men to the Lord. Then, intellectual details will fall into place. Edward J. Young explained our duty in his *Studies in Genesis One*:

In the study of Genesis one, our chief concern must not be to adopt an interpretation that is necessarily satisfying to the "scientifically penetrating mind." Nor is our principal purpose to endeavor to make the chapter harmonize with what "science" teaches. Our principal task, in so far as we are able, is to get at the meaning which the writer sought to convey.

Davis Young believes that the creationist view of Genesis is dangerous. However, in the view of many creationists, the day-age theory promotes an equally harmful compromise between scripture and secular science. To both the literal *and* day-age views, the secular evolutionary approach is even more harmful. The solution in our day would appear to be the free presentation of all views in a balanced manner. Meanwhile, research into the fossil record and rocks of the earth should continue to compile more data. Creationists are certainly not out to muzzle other views, or even necessarily to get "equal

time," but they cannot be silent, as Young requests. The literal-day approach to Genesis is a satisfying and credible foundation for millions of believers and must be shared. *Christianity and the Age of the Earth* is recommended for those interested in Davis Young's promotion of progressive creation and his denunciation of creationists. Such reading should be balanced with materials that positively explain the creationist position (see, for example, the preceding review of *What is Creation Science?*).

REVIEW ARTICLE

A Christian Manifesto

W. MERWIN FORBES

A Christian Manifesto, by Francis A. Schaeffer, Westchester, IL: Crossway, 1981. Pp. 157. \$5.95. Paper.

There are few writers in recent evangelical Christian history and circles who have had a sustained and significant impact, as has Francis Schaeffer. It is difficult to imagine anyone in the Christian reading public who has not been affected in some way by one or more of the important works by this popular and leading voice of Christianity. This very fact causes this reviewer to be a bit disconcerted about the possible and probable impact of *A Christian Manifesto*. If the reader comes to this volume in an uncritical fashion, perhaps thinking that Schaeffer's scholarship and conclusions concerning contemporary issues are always sound and above critique, then such a reader will run the risk of having been seduced by the mystique of the Schaefferian cult.

The first reading of this book left me very uneasy. Subsequent readings have added to the uneasiness, as the assumptions, dependence upon certain selected sources, and nearly total lack of dealing with the biblical data have been discerned. Before the disappointing portions are reviewed, it is important to survey Schaeffer's burden and many valuable thoughts.

Schaeffer begins his treatise by lamenting that Christians have tunnel vision. They typically miss the forest for the trees. They have the capacity to become exercised over specific issues (e.g., abortion, pornography, homosexuality, prayer in public schools), but they have failed to see the whole fabric being woven, the total world view that is being developed. This shift in world views Schaeffer characterizes as "impersonal matter or energy shaped into its present form by impersonal chance" (p. 18). This world view is not only different from the Christian one, it is antithetical and antagonistic to it. Schaeffer correctly assesses that these two world views utterly oppose one another, both in content and results. This "us versus them" characterization is repeated throughout the book.

An attendant problem which Schaeffer addresses is that Christians must bear their share of the responsibility for the burgeoning development and current dominance of the material-energy chance view. Owing to its own excessive attachment to pietism and its persistent platonic dichotomizing between the material and spiritual worlds, Christians have systematically failed

to see the totality of human existence. Particularly, the intellectual dimension has been neglected (pp. 18–19). Schaeffer ably sounds an urgent plea for Christians to return to a thorough-going Christian perspective. This Christian view begins with the transcendent God of the Bible who has disclosed himself in written propositional form. This view understands truth as a totally integrated whole in the Creator rather than as a series of truths without necessary and essential cohesion.

Throughout the early portion of Schaeffer's book there is helpful and synthesized discussion of some complex philosophical and historical matters. Among them are some excellent thoughts on the distinction between humanism and humanitarianism. "Christians should be the most humanitarian of all people" (p. 23). By virtue of the fact that they are created in the image of the Creator, Christians must be interested in the humanities. It is "proper to speak of a Christian humanist" (p. 23). But Schaeffer is careful to distinguish what he terms a Christian humanist from the man-centered and biblically false system which is popular today.

From these very valuable and helpful opening thoughts, Schaeffer moves in chapter two to develop his view of the early days of our nation and how the founding fathers understood the relationship between one's world view and the government under which he is to live. It is here that some of Schaeffer's assumptions become troublesome and his line of reasoning might be questioned.

Revealing what appears to be excessive dependence upon Samuel Rutherford (1600–1661) and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* ("that law, and no one else, is king," p. 32), Schaeffer begins a rather strained case that our founding fathers clearly knew what they were doing. "We cannot say too strongly that they really understood the basis of the government which they were founding" (p. 32). Then, in an almost inexplicable fashion, Schaeffer itemizes a series of "proofs" (?) to establish his point. He cites such things as the "In God we trust" which appears in our national jargon, the phrase "certain inalienable rights" in our founding documents, the fact that Congress has a paid chaplain, that prayer is offered before sessions of Congress, and even that one of our earliest national holidays was Thanksgiving Day.

But one might respond, "So what?" What do such externals prove? Do such citations clearly establish that this nation's foundations and pursuits were clearly Christian? I think not! This is like saying that prayer before class is that which makes our education Christian. Moreover, upon what or whose god are we claiming this foundation? The deistic god of Thomas Jefferson, *et al.*? Schaeffer appears to confuse deism and Christianity. Surely many of our founding fathers were theists, but were they Christians, with a thorough-going Christian world view? Are we really prepared to say that the god of Jefferson and the governmental theories of John Locke were Christian?

While much discerning care and critical analysis is needed in this portion of Schaeffer's work, he manages to salvage this chapter with some excellent thoughts on the First Amendment. He argues that the doctrine is used and abused today, having moved away from its original purposes, toward an oppressive effort to silence the church by secularizing it and prohibiting it from having a voice in issues of national concern.

Chapter three, entitled "The Destruction of Faith and Freedom," outlines the author's scenario regarding how and why our nation has moved away from the original base of the Creator giving "certain inalienable rights," toward a sociological law which has as a foundation principle that which seems good for society at any given moment, i.e., situationism. Again, there is in this discussion a mixture of very helpful thoughts and troublesome assumptions that are never examined. Schaeffer's valuable insights include the assertion that the material-energy chance concept of reality could never have produced a form-freedom balance in government (pp. 42-45). In fact this world view is destroying it. His discussion of the definition and problems in contemporary "pluralism" is helpful (pp. 45-47). Schaeffer chides Christian lawyers for their abdication of their responsibility which so greatly contributed to the decline into sociological law. He also scores Christian theologians and educators as well.

What is left unsaid in this chapter leaves this reviewer uneasy. Schaeffer's continuing assumptions concerning God-given "inalienable rights" needs examination. Where is it written in stone tablets that inalienable rights, the right to personal freedom seeming to be the central concern, is a divine gift which is to be pursued at all costs? Where is there a balanced discussion of biblical and historical data regarding early Christians who faithfully lived certain biblical principles by submitting to authority, even ungodly oppressive manifestations of authority? Where is there consideration of peace-making, living *under* authority (Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2)? Where is there an exposition of our Lord's statements and reactions to his "loss of freedom"? What of learning to be conquerors by living *in* tribulation, persecution, or sword (Rom 8:35-37)? To be sure, this reviewer rejoices in the relative liberties which we enjoy in this land. My prayer is that, in God's providence, these will be preserved. However, personal liberty is not the ultimate good and all-consuming goal of life as most conservatives imply. Learning to live biblically, *whatever* the circumstances, is the goal of life (Qoh 12:12-13).

Another troublesome assumption perpetuated by Schaeffer and many others concerns the "small group of people" who decide the good for all of society and who have "forced their will on the majority" (pp. 48-49). Such remarks strike the reviewer as only so much naive wishful thinking. Schaeffer and many others these days persist in the notion that there presently exists a Christian consensus in our culture, albeit a rather quiet one. A strong case can and should be made that a depraved and sinful majority has been ruling ever since Genesis 3. This nation (and the world) is in exactly the moral condition it prefers. The majority *is* in control and, moreover, 2 Timothy 3 warns us that conditions will continue to degenerate until divine intervention occurs when the King returns to establish *his* kingdom. Yet we keep wishing that "if we could only get control and put the minority in its place!" Such a misguided reading of biblical and historical data is most disappointing.

Chapter four, "The Humanist Religion" contains some excellent remarks on the rise and impact of contemporary humanism. Schaeffer attempts to synthesize the impact of the Humanist Manifestos I and II, recent decisions by the Supreme Court, and the effect of the media in diminishing the Christian viewpoint while advancing the non-Christian one. It is in this

chapter that Schaeffer begins to display a vague affinity with the Moral Majority and its efforts. It is also here that Schaeffer makes one of his uncritical remarks about the Moral Majority. "The Moral Majority has drawn a line between the total view of reality and the other total view of reality and the results this brings forth in government and law" (pp. 61–62). While it is beyond question that the Moral Majority has done a great service in spotlighting specific issues and raising the Christian consciousness concerning them, it is highly debatable that the Moral Majority is theologically, philosophically, or historically sophisticated enough to have done all that Schaeffer suggests.

Chapter five briefly rehearses the history of evangelical leadership and continues his assessment of its failures. Primary focus is upon the early evangelical thrust, by Wesley and Whitefield for example, that salvation should produce an impact upon the social domain and issues. It is also in this chapter that the reader begins to be prepared for subsequent chapters on the possible necessity and appropriateness of civil disobedience (p. 66), by at least two vague remarks that imply historical Christian support for it.

Chapter six is an important transitional chapter. As its title indicates, ("An Open Window"), Schaeffer uses a metaphor to assert that present history and circumstances in our nation are like an open window. I assume that the metaphor implies the opportunity to enter the arena and take up combat in order that "this whole other entity—the material-energy, chance world view—can be rolled back with all its results across all of life" (pp. 73–74). This is the first of what the author calls a "two-track" approach. Christians must enter the foray "praying and struggling" for the reversal of the other world view.

On the other hand, Christians must also be quite prepared for the eventuality that the window will be slammed closed. "What happens in this country if the window does not stay open? What then?" (p. 75). Schaeffer projects that in light of the way our culture appears to be degenerating, and if the so-called "Silent Majority" (there's that assumption again!) remains inert and blends into the culture, then the other view will ultimately win the day and erect an "elite authoritarianism" (p. 79) that will systematically set out to destroy the Christian world view. The major culprit in this elitist posture will be the U.S. Supreme Court which has already begun its work. The chapter concludes with a series of fearful "what ifs" to arrest the reader's attention regarding possible future circumstances.

Schaeffer's persistent optimism perhaps is commendable but it is also biblically, theologically, and historically ill-advised. His assessment of the Supreme Court and its penchant for misreading the Constitution and for making its own law is on target. But the most disquieting thing about this chapter is that the reader has now been prepared for the next three chapters of the book. These three chapters will discuss the limits and use of civil disobedience and force, assuming that the window will be slammed shut. All that follows will be based on Schaeffer's either/or premise that either Christians must ascend to supremacy and get their way, or they assume the worst and fight back, apparently by any means at their disposal.

Schaeffer begins these last important chapters by repeating his errant assumption that the founding fathers knew precisely what they were doing

and upon what basis they built this land. From this imprecise assertion, he moves the reader to what he terms the "bottom line." This bottom line is reached by moving through a series of questions. First, what is the final relationship of Christians to the state (p. 89)? Schaeffer concludes that it is obedience. The next question is, is the state autonomous or are we to obey the state even when it is wrong? What if a government or one of its agencies requires of its constituency that which is contrary to God? Our author concludes that the government has abrogated its authority and it is not to be obeyed (pp. 90-91). It is at this point that Schaeffer makes his first and only sustained reference to the Scripture (Romans 13 and 1 Peter 2). But the conclusions and inferences he draws are troublesome. After agreeing that governments are God-created and sustained institutions to be obeyed, Schaeffer jumps to the unsupported conclusion that governments can and must be disobeyed, depending upon the situation. Moreover, he makes a gigantic leap to assert that even armed rebellion might be appropriate and acceptable! In support he cites numerous historical examples of Reformation successes which resulted from armed revolt. In this section Schaeffer appears to applaud all sorts of reprehensible behavior and one must ask serious questions concerning the basic nature of his ethic.

The remainder of chapter seven reveals Schaeffer's heavy dependence upon Rutherford and his theses. For example, "since tyranny is satanic, not to resist it is to resist God" (p. 101). Is this consistent with Rom 13:1-2: "there is no authority except from God . . . therefore he who resists authority has opposed the ordinance of God?" Hardly! Rutherford states as a second precept that since the ruler is granted power conditionally, it follows that the people have the power to withdraw their sanction (p. 101). The entire phrase assumes that the people bestowed the authority and can withdraw it as they decide, when the Scripture asserts that *God* bestows and withdraws according to *his* plan. Where is Schaeffer's development of Dan 2:20; 4:17, 25, 34-35; Isa 40:23-24; Prov 21:1, etc.? There is some troublesome material here by this giant of the contemporary Christian scene.

Chapter eight discusses the appropriate use of civil disobedience. Here again Schaeffer follows totally the thoughts of Rutherford who suggested three levels of resistance. A private individual (1) must defend himself by protest, probably via legal action, (2) must flee if at all possible, and (3) may use force if necessary (p. 103). When offense is directed at a larger corporate body, only the first and third steps are possible. So with the help of Rutherford and later John Locke, Schaeffer asserts that the "bottom line" is that there may come a time when civil disobedience and force may be appropriate, indeed morally required. All of this is built on a huge "If," i.e., "if this occurs, then . . ."

Schaeffer cites a number of possible situations which would warrant civil disobedience. He suggests that one day Christians might have to do their duty by withholding their taxes because these funds are used in an ungodly fashion, for instance, to finance abortions. He cites the distinct possibility that because the government prohibits the teaching of creationism in public school, Christians will have to refuse to submit to such "tyranny."

Again Schaeffer's assumptions and uncritical dependence on Rutherford are displayed here. He plays semantic games with Matt 22:21 to get out from

under responsibility of the command that Caesar should *always* get what is his due. He again fails to correlate his thinking with 1 Pet 2:11–25. He never recalls our Lord's submissive response to unjust treatment and that his activity was to be our example. Furthermore, Schaeffer assumes, for example, that God has mandated the teaching of creationism in public schools. Where is that notion found in the biblical data?

Chapter nine, "The Use of Force," continues these troublesome themes. Schaeffer's opening paragraph exhibits one of the inconsistencies in his thinking. "There does come a time when force, even physical force, is appropriate. The Christian is not to take the law into his own hands and become a law unto himself" (p. 117). Can we have it both ways? Our author's illustration of the legitimate and appropriate use of deception in hiding Jews in Nazi Germany runs directly counter to the teaching of Scripture. The rationale that the Nazi government was a counterfeit state will not stand the scrutiny of the Bible. Did Christ say that since the Roman Empire and the caesars had become a false state and rampant in its tyranny, that Christians should rebel, deceive, fail to support, and otherwise subvert it? Or did he say to submit, pray for the king, honor the government, and pay taxes that are due? This reviewer is certain that Schaeffer would say he abhors situation ethics. Yet, tragically, his *Christian Manifesto* appears to encourage Christians to become practitioners of it. If we don't like the law, disobey it. How is that different from those who don't like any other law, say abortion laws, so they will calculatedly disobey it?

To cap off these chapters, the author weaves in the comparison between the possible scenario in America with what is presently occurring in the Soviet Union. While it is true that conditions in the U.S.S.R. are deplorable and it is not a desirable place to live, the reader gets the impression that the only reason for this comparison is to terrorize Christians into doing whatever is necessary so that America will never become like Russia. Somehow this whole analogy strikes this reader as comparing apples and elephants. It only causes readers to react in fear rather than to analyze critically the central issues.

In summary, this reviewer is left with an empty and troubled spirit after reading *A Christian Manifesto*. It does have many strengths. It is fascinating reading, as Schaeffer typically is, but its faults seriously outweigh its values. Its assumptions are largely unexamined. Many of its assertions do not stand up under the scrutiny of biblical data or philosophical analysis. There is minimal interaction with the larger body of biblical material. It leaves the reader with a disquieting feeling in matters pertaining to civil disobedience and force, as Schaeffer appears to endorse a spirit of rebellion and retribution. It is not comprehensive enough, for it avoids applying the lordship of Christ to areas such as the stewardship of the environment, the role of peace-making, the nuclear disarmament debate, the incipient racism in this country, the relationship of Christians to the poor, and a host of relevant issues.

No doubt this book will become very important over the next few years, if for no other reason than because of the immense popularity, contemporary influence, and mystique of the author. Nevertheless, this reviewer would encourage that *A Christian Manifesto* be read by all. However, it is strongly

urged that the book be read with discerning care and that its premises, argumentation, historical analysis, and its use of sources be critically examined. What Schaeffer appears to have written is an *American* manifesto. A biblically consistent, historically informed, theologically and philosophically sophisticated, and adequately comprehensive *Christian* manifesto has yet to be written.

BOOK REVIEWS

Commentary on James, by Peter Davids. New International Greek Testament Commentary series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982. Pp. 226. \$14.95.

In this third volume in the NIGTC series, Peter Davids has provided a thorough and up-to-date commentary on James which interacts in detail with the most recent NT research. The author is Associate Professor of Biblical Studies at Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry in Ambridge, PA.

The author's stance is evangelical. He accepts the Jacobean authorship of the epistle, but carefully delineates the various possibilities within this general framework as suggested by contemporary studies. Arguing that external evidence yields no certain conclusion about the date of the epistle, Davids takes his readers to a detailed study of internal evidence. He analyzes the Hellenistic culture reflected in the epistle, the Jewish-Christian culture, the historical-doctrinal position, and the "James-Paul Debate," and draws his conclusions after assessing the arguments of all points of view. In Davids's view, the evidence on authorship and date leads to only limited conclusions. Nevertheless he states that the probabilities are for an authorship by James the Just between A.D. 40 and the Jerusalem Council. However, he also asserts the likelihood that James either received assistance in the editing of his epistle, or else that it was edited later, perhaps after his death, as the church spread beyond Jerusalem and used Greek more widely (p. 22). To Davids, this hypothesis fits the *Sitz im Leben* more easily in the sections on poverty and wealth, as well as the Greek idiom which is unusually proficient for one of Palestinian origin. However, I am not convinced that resorting to later redactors is the only way or the best way to explain the phenomena. Literary skills are not limited by geography, and the employment of amanuenses at the time of composition could explain whatever grammatical polishing requires explanation.

In his discussion of the *Sitz im Leben* of the epistle, Davids suggests that the last three decades before the first Jewish War (i.e., A.D. 40–60) furnish the best setting for the kind of Jewish life reflected in the letter (p. 33). After the death of Herod Agrippa I (ca. A.D. 44), famines and internal instability characterized the land. It was not only a period of clash between Jews and the church, but also within the temple clergy, and between the wealthy and the poor in Judaism. The commentary assumes that the original traditions which form the content of the epistle appeared during the early part of this period, and were gathered and perhaps edited during the latter part. "Thus the work is perhaps the last picture one has of the Palestinian church before the storms of war closed over it" (p. 34).

As Davids analyzes the theology of James, he finds seven themes which are treated, not systematically or exhaustively in the epistle, but nevertheless

discussed in some detail. These seven are (1) suffering/testing, (2) eschatology, (3) christology, (4) poverty-piety, (5) law, grace, and faith, (6) wisdom, (7) prayer. A fine analysis is given of each theme. The author's introductory chapter is then concluded with a helpful description of James's literary style, from which Davids concludes that the writer was "an able master of literary Koine" (p. 58).

In the commentary section of the book, the author has researched widely and interprets carefully. Among his interpretations of key passages are found the following. He interprets the "twelve tribes of the diaspora" (1:1) as Jewish Christians outside Palestine. He does not decide whether 1:10 refers to rich Christians or non-Christians. He opts for the concept "our glorious Lord Jesus Christ" in 2:1. He suggests that the two strangers in 2:2 were probably new converts since he supposes unbelievers would not have been admitted to the congregation. He furthermore hypothesizes that the scene was a church court.

On 2:18 a good discussion is given of the difficult passage, and the author finally concludes it is probably an objector speaking. He insists that James is not talking about forensic justification in 2:21–26, and gives reasons for concluding that James was not refuting Rom 3:20, 28 and 4:16 in this passage, but either wrote earlier than Paul, or was from a part of the church where this issue was not being debated. In 4:4 "adulteresses" is metaphorical; "just one" in 5:6 is generic, not a reference to Christ; and 5:13 is given a fine treatment, arguing that the healing of the sick after anointing was miraculous in the early church. Occasional references to the work of a redactor (e.g., pp. 73, 149, 181, 195) are not essential to the interpretation of the passages, and should not be allowed to mar the overall excellence of this work by those who find such references unnecessary.

This volume is an excellent addition to this noteworthy series. It deserves a place in the serious expositor's study, and should be consulted for contemporary research on James.

HOMER A. KENT, JR.

Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925, by George M. Marsden. New York: Oxford University, 1980. Pp. 306 + xiv. \$19.95.

For those concerned with their spiritual roots, this book is must reading! Students of American Studies, Church History, and Contemporary Evangelicalism will find this book remarkable. It will no doubt find its way onto the required reading list in every classroom of "American Christianity."

Marsden gives us a brief glimpse of 19th-century evangelicalism before offering a detailed analysis of the controversial years 1900–1925. His description regarding the shaping of early 20th-century fundamentalism is profound. He goes beyond Sandeen's analysis of premillennialism and beyond Machen's (Princeton) apologetics—what many today are calling the Dallas-Princeton theology. But he adds a very important aspect: that of the victorious life movement and revivalism. The combination of these three elements formed

the tripod upon which American fundamentalism was built. The 19th-century emphasis upon social concern was neglected, thus creating a new and unique theological emphasis. He suggests that "fundamentalism is best understood as a sub-species of American revivalism" (p.224).

Of special interest for the reader is Marsden's perceptive analysis of the movement's leaders: J. Gresham Machen, William Bell Riley, and R. A. Torrey. The movement is compared and contrasted to conservative protestantism that simultaneously functioned in Great Britain. He traces the uniqueness of the American movement to events in World War I and the strong American nationalism present among the fundamentalist leadership. This is an example of the broad and rich interpretations of the events offered by Marsden, an interpretation that is not just historical or theological but also sociological and philosophical. Evidence of this is his astute summary of Scottish Common Sense realism which led toward a strict literal hermeneutic. This in-depth analysis is the reason for the title, for it is not just a study of fundamentalism from a theological perspective but of a fundamentalist movement that influenced American culture as well as being greatly influenced by that culture.

The book is well illustrated with pictures and quotations, giving it a flavor and character that makes for enjoyable reading. The fact that it is an Oxford publication will give it the wide readership it deserves, across denominational and theological lines.

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THESES AND DISSERTATIONS AT GRACE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, 1982

M.DIV. THESES

- Balaam and His God Yahweh, David Thomas Ogletree.
 Balanced Church Growth and the Epistles, Marlin P. Rupp.
 Biblical Submission, Terry Twigg.
 The Building Materials of I Corinthians 3:12, Fred Rowden.
 Can the Unpardonable Sin Be Committed Today?, Dan Ramsey.
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 Committed to Follow, Stuart W. Scott.
 Communion, the Frequency of Practice, Larry A. Thompson.
 The Conceited New Convert's Condemnation: (A Study of 1 Timothy 3:6), Jeffrey A. Gill.
 The Convicting Work of the Holy Spirit as Given in John 16:8-11, Richard Van Heukelum.
 A Critical Investigation of Hebrews 12:25-29, Samuel J. Hadley.
 A Critical Investigation of Matthew 20:26-27, Mark S. Pluim.
 A Critical Investigation of Unity: John 17:21, Terry E. Zebulské.
 Dehabituation and Rehabituation in the Christian Life, Daniel P. Stuenzi.
 The Destruction of Death: An Examination of Isaiah 25:8 and I Corinthians 15:54, Theodore J. Krug.
 Does the Christian Have an Old Man?, Mark E. Saunders.
 An Examination of Various Idioms Related to Death in the Old Testament, Ronald A. Smals.
 An Exegetical and Theological Examination of the 'Fatal Wound that was Healed' in Revelation 13, Jarl Kent Waggoner.
 Exodus 4:24-26: Toward an Understanding of the Account of the "Bloody Husband," Dean M. Brdlik.
 The Glowing Promise of Isaiah 9:1-2 (8:23-9:1 in the Hebrew), Wm. Thomas Betcher.
 God's Response to Temple Destroyers in I Corinthians 3:17, Philip E. Bailey.
 The Groups of Jude 22-23: How many and Who?, Dewayne P. Cheramie.
 The Implication of Genesis 11:30 in the Life of Abraham, Thermilus M. Joseph.
 Implications of the Goel Institution of Leviticus 25, Frank H. Bishop.
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 The Interpretation and Application of the Parable of the Sower, Ronald W. Thomas.
 An Introduction to the Restoration of Israel to the Land, David G. Dilworth.
 Jephthah's Vow: Its Execution and Moral Evaluation, Otto R. Cerny.
 Jesus and Children in the Gospels, Robert D. Jones.
 Justification and the Judgment Seat of Christ, Wayne B. Sutton.
 Life or Death: The Outcome of Sin, 1 John 5:16-17, Garth E. Lindelef.
 The Lodge and Christianity, Conrad L. Barnum.
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